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Makers of National History

Edited by W. H. HUTTON, B.D.

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EDWARD THE FOURTH

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EDWARD IV

EDWARD THE FOURTH

BY

LAURENCE STRATFORD, B.A.

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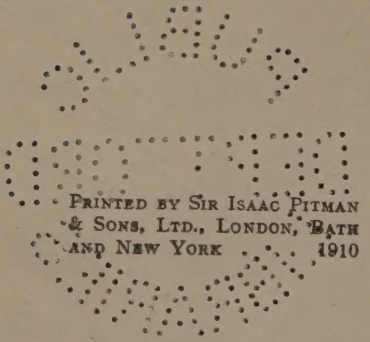

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MAKERS OF NATIONAL HISTORY

It is intended in this series to commemorate important men whose share in the making of national history seems to need a more complete record than it has yet received. In some cases the character, the achievements, or the life, have been neglected till modern times; in most cases new evidence has recently become available; in all cases a new estimate according to the historical standards of to-day seems to be called for. The aim of the series is to illustrate the importance of individual contributions to national development, in action and in thought. The foreign relations of the country are illustrated, the ecclesiastical position, the evolution of party, the meaning and influence of causes which never succeeded. No narrow limits are assigned. It is hoped to throw light upon English history at many different periods, and perhaps to extend the view to peoples other than our own. It will be attempted to show the value in national life of the many different interests that have employed the service of man.

The authors of the lives are writers who have a special knowledge of the periods to which the subjects of their memoirs belonged.

W. H. HUTTON.

S. John's College, Oxford.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

SINCE William Habington's *Historie of King Edward IV*, published in 1640, and incorporated in White Kennett's *Complete History of England*, no writer has devoted a monograph to the first of the Yorkist kings.

The reasons for this neglect I have endeavoured to indicate in my introductory chapter. The dearth of good contemporary chroniclers is quite extraordinary, and without them a writer has to fall back on conjecture and the balance of probabilities to an extent that would surprise those who do not know the original authorities. It is this lack of contemporary material, I think, which is chiefly responsible for the fact that until recent times the period received little critical attention from historians.

The popular view of Edward IV has been derived principally from three plays of Shakespeare, *King Henry VI*, Parts II and III, and *Richard III*, and from that striking historical romance, *The Last of the Barons*, by Lord Lytton. Sharon Turner and Dr. Lingard may be said to have first written the history of Edward's reign from contemporary authorities. Bishop Stubbs, in the third volume of his *Constitutional History of England*, treated the question between York and Lancaster on broad and grand lines which make further work on the subject, above all any difference from his expressed opinion, seem almost an impertinence. More recent are the works of Sir James Ramsay and Professor C. W. Oman. The former's *Lancaster and York* is a perfect storehouse of arranged facts and references, and to it and to Mr. Oman's volume on the *Political History of England*,

dealing with the period between 1377 and 1485, I wish to acknowledge my great indebtedness.

Reasons of space have made it impossible for me to deal as fully as I should have wished with the general history of the years before Edward's accession to the throne, except in so far as it concerned him personally. Such omission is made with the comforting knowledge that in Professor Oman's *Warwick, the King-maker*, the public is furnished, in a brilliant form, with an introduction to the life and times of Edward IV, a book of which I have thankfully made full use. The investigations at the Record Office of Miss Cora Schofield have thrown light on two or three dark places in the reign; so perhaps we may hope that a careful perusal and classification of that second great fund of contemporary material, official documents, writs, receipts, etc., may yet have something to supply in place of the absent chronicles.

The "Life" of a king, if it is to have any worth at all, must be practically a history of his reign. Yet finding its value largely in the effects of the strangely mixed personality of Edward himself, I have given as much detail about him and his personal life as possible. The years that succeeded the death of the Earl of Warwick have been, as a rule, accorded a meagre notice; consequently, I have devoted especial attention to them, in the hope that, by describing them in greater detail, they may be seen to have value as illustrating not only the character of the King, but the broad lines of national feeling and political development. The unpublished material in the British Museum has yielded me no very startling discoveries, but it has supplied many little points of personal detail in descriptions of court

ceremonies, proclamations and kindred notices, which are not without importance to one attempting to build up an intelligible picture of Edward IV.

Besides the acknowledgments I have already made, I should like also to thank Canon Bazeley, of whose account of the Tewkesbury Campaign I have made the fullest use; M. le Chanoine Jouen of Rouen Cathedral, who supplied me, a perfect stranger, with details as to the residence of the Duke of York at Rouen, and references from the Rouen Chapter Records; Mr. Edmund J. Taylor, Town Clerk of Bristol; Mr. Brabazon Campbell, Town Clerk of Warwick; Mr. J. W. Rylands, F.S.A., of Warwick; Mr. W. Andrews, of Coventry; Mr. Hall, of Mortimer's Cross; who all showed themselves able and willing to help me in points of local history.

The General Editor of the Series, the Rev. W. H. Hutton, my old tutor and friend, has in both capacities laid me under obligations that it would be hard indeed to repay: nor would he wish me to do so, except perhaps by gratefully acknowledging his careful and inspiring tuition in the past, and in the matter of this book an unceasing vigilance and labour exerted at a time when illness made such work difficult for him.

Last, but not least, my thanks and sympathy are most heartily given to the Rev. H. S. Holland, Canon of S. Paul's Cathedral, in whose house I wrote this book. He helped me more than I can say by his constant encouragement and willingness to advise, and by a lively interest that refused to be bored by a conversational atmosphere that for several months positively reeked of Edward IV.

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EDWARD THE FOURTH

Edward the Fourth

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Of all the Kings of England since the Norman Conquest few are less popularly known than Edward IV. This is due in part to the lack of contemporary evidence; many points in his reign must remain, apparently, for ever in dispute, with the result that there is little of the sharpness of outline which assists memory, little of the certainty which enables judgment. Moreover, the period has not attracted popular interest because it has been considered dull—a time of stagnation, of ignoble aims and ignoble triumphs. It has seemed to lack great national moments, whether of war, constitutional struggle, social transition, religious change or intellectual progress.

The figure of Edward IV has been obscured by the conditions which raised him to the throne. Our estimate of his position as a maker of national history has been prejudiced by the seeming futility of the political movements of the years that succeeded the death of Henry V. There was the slowly fading glory of English arms in France, the inevitable effect of those laws which work through long years to rectify what human ambition or weakness have strained or perverted. The war had been begun for reasons

The reign of Henry VI.

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and with claims which modern intelligence and conscience alike reject as unsound and dishonest. They overstepped the legitimate claims of nationalism. Enthusiasm and national sentiment were restored to her country by Joan of Arc, and in spite of the stubborn pride and determination of Englishmen, which would not allow them to abandon the struggle for so many years, France gradually came to her own.

The long war, in its progress and its result, reacted disastrously on affairs at home. The Lancastrian system of government, in the hands first of a factious Council, then of a pious but very weak king, collapsed under the odium of foreign defeat and domestic impotence. The outward sign of England's failure abroad, Margaret of Anjou, came to embitter English political life and intensify the defects of the governmental system. The Crown ceased to respond to national feeling. While the King became more and more embarrassed by poverty, the distinctive type of the period, "the over-mighty subject," rich, ambitious, factious, lawless, grew to greater and greater strength. The consolidation of the peerage resulted in vast estates which gave their possessors local influence and power sufficient to defy any but a strong government. Demoralised by the long war with France, the restlessness of the nobles found vent in local and family feuds and party warfare. "Livery and maintenance" attached to each great lord a body of adherents, held together by self interest. National patriotism seemed to be lost in the desire for local predominance. Greed for land of a neighbour at home took the place of the national aggression abroad. The country fell into

a state of frightful disorder against which the Government of Henry VI was helpless. The policy of those who wished for "good governance" seemed to be represented by Richard, Duke of York, and his friends. Their cause at first was undoubtedly that of constitutionalism and moderation; it had some claim to represent the nation. But as time went on the quarrel became not only political but dynastic, and from that moment the Wars of the Roses must be fought out. A dynastic is more easy to understand than a constitutional question. It calls forth stronger feeling, more fervent partisanship. In short, it is more romantic and therefore more popular.

Edward's reign a time of transition.

Edward IV, then, was the product of a long and calamitous foreign war, a period of constitutional collapse and social disorganisation, and a dynastic struggle. The problems he was set to solve were not of his own setting. He was caught between the Middle Ages and the beginning of modern times—the age of chivalry and the age of common-sense. Much was dying—much was coming to light that is now so obvious and inevitable: yet the death and the birth were to the men of the time neither obvious nor inevitable. Standards of thought were on the point of shifting, but still were fixed, as it seems to us perversely fixed, in the old light. Forms and customs which had lost their meaning were yet preserved. So we have to judge the policy and the aims of the King by standards which are not wholly modern nor wholly mediæval. With Edward I and Edward III we feel ourselves much more at home. There we can learn how to judge and what allowances to make; but with Edward IV we feel sometimes that he knows and yet refuses to know; we are uneasily conscious

of the fact that he is not intellectually limited to the outlook of the kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and yet we cannot really tell where we are to draw the line, where we are to judge as moderns, where as mediævalists.

The Wars of the Roses, from the military as from the political point of view, lack unity; anything may happen, and any result is equally unexpected and unimportant. Its principal figures suffer in our minds from our opinion of the worthlessness of the period; and Edward IV was one of them. "The fitting head of a very bad political faction, which had waded through blood to honours and riches, and had to maintain them by more blood" [1]—so a modern historian sums him up as man and king. And yet, head of a faction as he came to be, he had no share in the early history of the struggle which made him so, no guilt, no responsibility for the causes of the struggle itself. He was born into it, and took up his heritage from his father, and was neither a cause nor occasion of its beginning. He did not force his way to the throne: he came to it by force of circumstances and the will of others. But it is true that its factious beginning clouded all his reign and his life. The blood-guiltiness of his enemies made him, and the blood he shed kept him, for years king only of a party. Everything of his policy was conditioned, as it was bound to be, by the circumstances from which his power sprang.

The occasion of the War of the Roses in its later stages is to be found in a question of genealogies and two conflicting theories of hereditary succession.

[1] C. R. L. Fletcher, "An Introductory History of England," Vol. I, p. 351.

The Succession question.

After the death of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, in 1447, Henry VI, as yet childless, was the only remaining male descendant, through males, of John of Gaunt and Blanche of Lancaster. The three brothers of Henry V had all died without legitimate issue. His sisters, Philippa, married to John, King of Portugal, Katherine, Queen of Henry of Castile, and Elizabeth, Duchess of Exeter, and their issue, could not be reckoned as having any claim to the English crown, as if succession through females were admitted, there was, as we shall see, a more direct claimant in England.[1] But there were other heirs of Edward III through John of Gaunt, in the persons of the Beauforts, descendants of his children by Katherine Swynford, illegitimate, but legitimated by Letters Patent in 1397. Of these Henry, Cardinal Beaufort, died in 1447: his eldest brother had died in 1410 and left a son John, Duke of Somerset, who died in 1444 after his abortive and ill-considered expedition to France, leaving a daughter, Margaret, and a brother, Edmund, who succeeded him after a time in the title of Duke of Somerset. This Edmund was the father of three sons, Henry, Edmund and John. There was, therefore, no lack of male heirs in the Beaufort line: but the question of their ability to succeed to the throne was more difficult. When the Patent of legitimation of the Beaufort children was renewed by Henry IV in 1407, the addition was made to it of a clause barring their succession to the Crown. "The addition was invalid, as the original unfettered grant of legitimation in 1397 had received

[1] See "Political History of England," Vol. IV, 1377–1485, Professor C. Oman, p. 354.

parliamentary sanction."[1] But the addition was popularly considered to be valid, and it was distinctly arguable that the Beauforts were disqualified. Certainly there was a feeling that they were, and the attempt by them to assert a claim would be opposed on legal as well as personal grounds.

Richard, Duke of York.

Failing the Beauforts, the next heir of Edward III was Richard, Duke of York, a direct descendant by males of Edmund, fifth son of Edward III. His father, the Richard Earl of Cambridge who had been executed for conspiracy on the eve of the French expedition in 1415, was the younger and only brother of Edward, Duke of Aumerle and York, who fell at Agincourt leaving no children. Thus Richard was left the sole male representative of the line of York. But his father had married Anne Mortimer, daughter of that Roger Mortimer, Earl of March, who was grandson by a daughter, Philippa, of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, an elder brother of both John of Gaunt and Edmund, Duke of York. The claims of Roger's son Edmund, Earl of March, were quietly disregarded at the accession of Henry IV and of his son and grandson, though the attempt to make out a hereditary claim for Henry IV showed an uneasy sense of a right on the part of the young Earl, which according to rules of succession to private property, was indefeasible. When Edmund died, in 1424, his rights passed to the child of his sister Anne, Richard, Duke of York, who thus became representative of the lines of two sons of Edward III.

According to ideas which have since been defined, but were then doubtful, Richard had a legitimate claim to the throne, above all the House of Lancaster.

[1] L. B. Radford, "Beaufort" (in this series), p. 18.

The line of an elder brother must be exhausted before its rights pass on to the line of a younger brother. But Richard's descent from Lionel of Clarence was twice through females, and the "title to the crown of England had not yet been transmitted by a woman except in the case of Henry II, whose right came to him through his mother, the Empress;" and "in that case the only competitor was Stephen," who "himself claimed through a woman."[1] "It was quite possible to contend that so long as there was a male claiming solely through males, no woman, and no man claiming through a woman, could be admitted. In favour of that doctrine Fortescue, chief justice under Henry VI, wrote an elaborate treatise; he was prepared to defend his master's title even as a matter of pure hereditary right."[2] However, decidedly a case could be made out on the lines of succession to private property, whereby a female could transmit a claim to lands to her descendants though she was unable to succeed to those lands herself. According to this, Richard was *de jure* King from the moment of the death of his uncle, Edmund of March. But the real answer to the legitimist theory was the fact that Henry IV had been received by the nation: that every sanction which Parliament and the will of the people could give to his title had been given, and renewed implicitly by the undisputed accessions of Henry V and Henry VI. The legitimist theory denied the right of any human power to alter the claim to accession to the crown from the line of pure hereditary descent. In this case that

[1] "The Constitutional History of England." A course of Lectures by F. W. Maitland. 1909. p. 193.
[2] *Ibid.*

claim was complicated by its transmission through females.

It must be remembered, however, that Henry IV's claim as a descendant of Edmund Crouchback, absurdly asserted to have been elder brother of Edward I, was through a female, his mother Blanche of Lancaster.

Anyhow, there is no doubt that the question slumbered for many years, and was only revived when the childlessness of the King prompted Richard of York to try to ascertain what should happen when Henry died. There was for a long time no question of supplanting the House of Lancaster. If the Beaufort claim were not admitted Richard was heir to the throne as great grandson of Edward III through his fifth son. But when, in October, 1453, the King became father of a son, the claim through Lionel of Clarence became important—the claim through Edmund, Duke of York, was of no use then, and only that through Lionel could bring the dynastic change that bitter political strife was to suggest and to make necessary. At first the Parliamentary settlement was accepted without question, and the Duke of York grew up in friendship with the Court and other members of the royal family.

Born in 1411, Richard had by the execution of his father and the death of his uncle, inherited their entailed lands, and at the death of his maternal uncle, Edmund Mortimer, Earl of March, 1424, the vast territorial possessions of his mother's family, of which the Duke of Gloucester was given the custody. The wardship of his person was given to that sturdy supporter of the House of Lancaster, Ralph Neville, Earl of Westminster, who, when Richard was about

eleven years old, obtained the royal permission to marry him to his youngest daughter by Joan Beaufort, his second wife, Cecily,[1] then nine years of age —a marriage which, though at the time it seemed politically unimportant, was to be productive of consequences of the greatest possible value to the young bridegroom. In 1438, when she came to him as his wife, she brought such vast family connections, such a united clan to support her husband's claims and to follow his fortunes, that it is hard to think of any possible marriage at that time which would have strengthened his position and increased his influence in an equal degree. It is true that the elder family of her father, his children by Margaret of Stafford, had, for reasons growing out of a family dispute as to the settlement of the property of Earl Ralph, become estranged from the family of Joan Beaufort.[2] But neither in numbers nor in the wealth and influence of their connections could they rival the compact group of Cecily's brothers and sisters of the full blood. Chief of these was the eldest, Richard Neville. "The managing spirit"[3] of the family, he had married the heiress of the Montagus of Salisbury, and on the death of his father-in-law had become Earl of Salisbury. Of his brothers, William had become Lord Fauconberge by his marriage with the heiress of that Barony; Edward by a similar marriage had become Lord Abergavenny; George had become Lord Latimer in succession to his half-uncle; Robert was Bishop of Durham. Cecily's elder sisters had made even more brilliant

Marriage of Richard, Duke of York.

Influence of the Nevilles.

[1] See C. W. Oman, "Warwick the King-maker," p. 20.
[2] Oman, "Warwick," pp. 23-4.
[3] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 356.

matches. Katherine was married to John Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk; Anne to Humphrey Stafford, Duke of Buckingham; Eleanor to Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland. These marriages made the Neville family powerful indeed, connecting them with nearly all the peerage of the realm. Connection with such a family was bound to strengthen the position even of a man already so rich in lands, appointments and blood as the Duke of York.

The Duchess of York.

But "the Rose of Raby" brought him not only an accession of power: she brought the beauty, with which she was so richly to endow two of her sons, and a character of great steadfastness, courage and simple piety. For the slander which said that her son Edward was not the son of her husband there seems to have been no ground whatever, beyond an accidental resemblance to an archer whom gossip, therefore, reported to be his father. Many years later Richard, her youngest son, is said to have, for his own purposes, repeated and amplified the foul charge against his mother, including George, Duke of Clarence, in the charge of illegitimacy.[1] But no kind of proof of such statements was ever attempted. Her life as wife, and as a mother of twelve children bears the closest inspection which we are capable of giving to it. She lived in honour through astounding changes of fortune as a woman who in both capacities used her influence for good.

Anna, the first child of the young couple, was born at Fotheringay on August 10th or 11th, 1439.[2] On February 10th, 1441, a son, Henry, was born at

[1] Sir Thomas More, "History of King Richard III." Camb. Univ. Press, p. 63.

[2] William of Worcester, "Annals," p. 762.

Hatfield.[1] We have no record of his death, but it seems to have been very soon. At the end of June[2] of the same year Richard, appointed once more to the Regency in Normandy, set sail for Harfleur. It is not known whether the Duchess accompanied him or joined him later. A curious entry in a contemporary chronicle would seem to indicate the latter.[3] The Duke took up his quarters in the Castle of Philip Augustus at Rouen, notable for the imprisonment of Joan of Arc. Here on April 28th[4] was born the second son, Edward. He was probably baptised in the Chapel of the Castle. A note in MS. in the British Museum speaks of his being christened in the Cathedral Church of Rouen,[5] all the prelates and clergy being present "in pontificalibus." But against this must be set the fact that the Chapter Book of Rouen Cathedral has no entry of any such event, while permission for the reception and baptism at the Cathedral of his younger brother Edmund is recorded on May 18, 1443, as also that of his sister Elizabeth on September 22nd, 1444. There is an entry under the date of October 30th, 1442, giving permission to the Duke of York to use certain ornaments and vestments from the Cathedral "to decorate the Chapel of the Castle of Rouen"[6] for the celebration of the feast of All Saints. It is, therefore,

Birth of Edward IV.

[1] See William of Worcester, p. 762.
[2] See "Dict. of Nat. Biog.," "Richard of York."
[3] William of Worcester, p. 763.
[4] So William of Worcester, p. 763. Addit. MS. 6113, Brit. Mus. says April 27. The birth took place at 2.45 a.m., which probably accounts for the different date.
[5] See Addit. MS. 6113, folio 125*b*.
[6] For these details I am indebted to M. le Chanoine Jouen, of Rouen Cathedral, who most kindly sent extracts from the Chapter Records in answer to the inquiries of a complete stranger.

reasonable to suppose that Edward was baptised in the Chapel of the Castle. His mother's brother, Richard, Earl of Salisbury, with Lord Scales and Lady Say, were his sponsors.

Proposals for marriage with a French princess.

The first public notice we have of the boy is in 1445. The proposal for a French marriage for the King suggested to the Duke of York an alliance which would have the double effect of improving his own position at Court, and of carrying on to the next generation the friendly obligations which a marriage between the royal families of England and France implied. Accordingly, with the consent of King Henry, he proposed that the King of France should give him one of his daughters for his son Edward, now heir of his father by the death of his elder brother, Henry. The idea was not an unreasonable one. The position of the Duke of York was steadily improving, and there would have been a special suitability in the marriage of the son of the Regent to a daughter of his King's great antagonist at a time when the King was symbolising his desire for peace by himself taking a bride from the royal house of France. Early in 1445 Richard broached the subject to Charles VII, who wrote on February 19th[1] that he would consider the matter. The Duke, highly pleased at the reception of his proposal, sent a deputation of three to confer with the King as to details. On June 10th we find him acknowledging receipt of a letter from Charles, dated May 14th, brought to him by the deputation on its return. He gratefully notes the King's suggestion that of his daughters, Magdalene shall be the favoured one. The Duke ventures to

[1] "Wars of the English in France." Rolls Series. Vol. I, p. 79, *seq.*

plead that as Magdalene was only two years old her elder sister Jeanne would be of more suitable age. He professes himself anxious that his son should have issue as soon as possible, a fact which possibly throws light on thoughts as to the succession to the throne which were already occupying his mind. Apparently Charles replied that it must be Magdalene or no one, for on September 21st Richard wrote from Honfleur hastening to agree to Charles's choice. He apologised for his delay in answering, but had been summoned to Parliament in England. From London he wrote on December 21st repeating his eagerness to bring the affair to a successful issue, and his regrets that business had delayed so long the progress of arrangements. There, so far as we know, the matter ended. This, the first of several marriage projects for Edward, came to nothing and seems to have been forgotten in the pressure of affairs which soon succeeded.

Edward's childhood.

We know little of the childhood of the young Prince. No doubt he was with his mother at Fotheringay in 1446, and 1447, during which years the birth of a sister, Margaret, and a brother, William, who died young, are recorded. Yet another brother not destined to survive, John, was born in 1448 at "Neyt" or "the Neat," a house and grounds now represented by the parish of St. Gabriel's, Pimlico.[1] With his brother Edmund, little more than a year his junior, his childhood was a happy one, and many years later we find the government of his son speaking of the great services of his nurse, Anne de Caux, and conferring on her a substantial pension.[2]

[1] Ramsay, Vol. II, p. 240, note 2.
[2] Patent Rolls, Edward V, Jan. 2, 1484.

CHAPTER II

THE EARL OF MARCH—EXILE AND RETURN

Edward's boyhood.

It was in years of strife and disturbance that Edward grew up. He saw betimes the vicissitudes of human fortune exemplified in the cases of his father and his Neville relations, whose alternating periods of success and persecution must have been a source of perplexity to the boy. He seems to have been physically and mentally an unusually precocious member of a house notable for the early maturity of its sons, for in March, 1452, when he was ten years old, he was reported in London to be coming to his father's aid at the head of a force of 10,000 men from the Welsh border;[1] and the rumour was said to have helped to influence the Court party to release the Duke, when they had him in their power, after an oath of loyalty to King Henry. Edward then bore the title of Earl of March, and his brother Edmund that of Earl of Rutland, the former emphasizing descent from the line of Mortimer, the latter the early title of their great-uncle, the Duke of York.

The founder of Eton would no doubt have something to say to the boys when he visited Ludlow in the following autumn.

Another marriage proposal.

In 1453 we find the Duke of York, "who had been in communication with the Duke of Alençon and other French malcontents, not with any view to French interference in English politics, but with a view to a re-assertion of English pretensions in

[1] Vitelius, A., xvi. C. L. Kingsford: "Chronicles of London," p. 163.

France,"[1] suggesting a marriage between Edward and a daughter of Alençon, but the project came to nothing. Meanwhile a Governor and "lady Governess" for the young Princes had been appointed in the persons of Richard Croft, a member of a family that had been at Croft Castle in Herefordshire since the Conquest, and his wife, a daughter of Sir Edward Cornwall and widow of Sir Hugh Mortimer.[2] The Duke was so frequently away from his estates that it was necessary to put his sons under the control of some man whose Herefordshire residence would enable him to supervise the households of the Princes at Ludlow and Wigmore. That Edward had by this time a separate establishment appears from one of the Paston Letters. In January, 1454, referring to the coming of the Duke of York to London "with his household men," the writer adds: "And the Earl of March cometh with him but he will have another fellowship of good men that shall be at London before hym."[3]

Letter to the Duke of York.

Later in the year Edward had returned to Ludlow, and on June 3rd we find him writing a joint letter[4] with his brother Edmund to their father, who had gone north in connection with the incipient rebellion of the Duke of Exeter and Lord Egremont. They acknowledged receipt of a letter from their father dated at York the 29th May telling of his "worschipful and victorious spede ageniest your enemyse to their grete shame and to us the most comfortable tydinges that we desired to here." They assure him of their

[1] Ramsay, Vol. II, p. 198.
[2] See "Retrospective Review," 2nd Series, p. 470.
[3] "Paston Letters," Jan. 19, 1454.
[4] See "Excerpta Historica," 1831, p. 8.

good health, " and where ye comaunde us by your said letters to attende specially to our lernying in our yong age that shculde cause us to growe to honour and worschip in our old age, Plaese hit your hieghnesse to witte that we have attended our lernyng sith we come heder and schall hereaftur." They beg him to exchange a servant of his " whos service is to us ryght agreable " for one they will send to wait on him.

The next year Edward made his third recorded appearance at the head of troops, leading a body of men to join the Yorkist forces at Leicester ;[1] but apparently he was not present at his father's first victory at St. Albans.

Education.

These excursions were probably a welcome relief from the stern tutelage of the Crofts. In a boyish letter to their father,[2] Edward and his brother thank him for " green gowns, now sent unto us to our great comfort, beseeching your good lordship to remember our porteux,[3] and that we might have some fine bonnets sent unto us by the next sure messenger, for necessity so requireth." They go on to say that they are sending him information " concerning and touching the odious rule and demeaning of Richard Crofte and his brother," and ask their father to give " full faith and credence " to what their messenger tells him. In after years Edward recognised and rewarded the good and faithful service of the Tutor of whose severity he was now complaining.

[1] Brief Notes, " Three Fifteenth Century Chronicles" (ed. Gairdner), p. 151.

[2] Halliwell, " Letters of the Kings of England," Vol. I, p. 121.

[3] Portable Breviary.

The Duke of York's family was increased during the next few years by the birth of three more children, Thomas, Richard and Ursula, of whom only Richard survived childhood.

The years 1454-9 were spent by the two eldest boys mainly at Ludlow and Wigmore, stately and beautiful country homes, in the district where the Duke, as representing the Mortimer family, was all powerful. There were probably occasional visits to London besides those we have noticed, and perhaps to Fotheringay. Edward's intellectual training does not seem to have been of exceptional severity, but he had unusually early experience of military affairs, and took kindly to arms. He developed a tall and very powerful frame and great beauty of appearance. In May, 1458, the Duke of York, in his efforts to establish private relations with foreign powers, "took advantage of a commission which he had obtained for the Earl of Warwick and others to confer with Philip of Burgundy as to breaches truce," to open negotiations with the Duke, which subsequently led to yet another proposal of marriage for Edward. Philip's son, Charles, Count of Charolais, had an infant daughter. The alliance of Burgundy would be worth much to York, so he sued for the child's hand for one of his sons.[1] The project was debated for some time, but ultimately fell through.

In 1459 the Earl of March completed his seventeenth year. Queen Margaret, overruling the pacificatory intentions of her husband and the more moderate men of his Council, had determined to crush the Yorkist faction. It was evident to the Duke of York that he and his house would have to fight for

[1] Ramsay, Vol. II, p. 211.

Concentration of the Yorkists at Ludlow, September, 1459.

existence. He accordingly began his concentration at Ludlow, and possibly to indicate the nature of the coming struggle and to show its dynastic significance, he brought into the field not only his eldest son, Edward, but also Edmund, Earl of Rutland.

Conscious that the concentration of his forces in face of the royal army had too much the appearance of rebellion, and determined as he was to act strictly on the defensive, the Duke of York was soon aware that his intentions were otherwise construed. Very few came to join him; indeed, of the magnates who were favourable to his cause only the Lords Clinton and Grey de Powis were with him. After the collision of the Earl of Salisbury and the royal forces at Blore's Heath, in September, 1459, and in face of the rapidly growing royal army, it was obvious that he must fight, but he took every step in his power to excuse himself from the charge of taking arms against the King.[1] But his excuses were ignored. After advancing to Worcester, he wrote on October 10th saying that he was retiring before the King merely to avoid bloodshed, and declaring that the advance of the royal army was compelling him to resistance.

Indeed, the position of the small Yorkist force, which probably numbered no more than 4,000 men, was getting desperate. The royal army, which is reported as numbering 30,000, certainly vastly outnumbered them, and was gaining in strength and enthusiasm as it moved forward. It was obvious that the only course possible for the Yorkists was to take up as strong a position as possible and prepare to defend themselves to the utmost. Accordingly, they

[1] See "Chronicles of the White Rose," Introduction, pp. lxix, lxx.

hastily fortified a position at Ludford, having the town and castle of Ludlow in their rear, their front protected by the river Teme, then in flood and covering the low-lying meadows by its banks. Their position was strengthened by a great ditch, and a rampart of carts and stakes, and they had some artillery.[1]

The Duke of York, becoming aware of the strength of the sentiment of loyalty to the King among some of his soldiers, took the "desperate step of putting about a rumour that Henry was dead, and ordered his chaplains to sing masses for his soul,"[2]—a deceit that was soon apparent. His camp was full of royal proclamations offering pardon to all, except the chiefs, who would enlist under the King's banner. It is said that the townspeople were anxious to accept an amnesty that would save their homes from sack, and that they even got to blows with the soldiers on the point.[3] So the two armies lay throughout the 12th of October. The Yorkist artillery opened fire to ward off an attack by night, but no real fighting ensued. Treachery ruined all chance of effective resistance. Sir Andrew Trollope, who had apparently been induced to accompany the Earl of Warwick from Calais only on the strict understanding that they were to attempt nothing against the King, took his men over to the royal standard during the night. The whole camp broke up: the leaders, after a hasty consultation, decided on flight, leaving "the field standing as they had been present and still abiding."[4] Some men "kept the field for a countenance till the

The Rout of Ludford.

[1] Gregory, p. 205.
[2] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 383.
[3] "History and Antiquities of Ludlow," 1822, p. 45.
[4] Fabyan, p. 634.

morn,"[1] while York and his two sons, Warwick and Salisbury, passing through the town got away southwards. The royal army entered Ludlow, pardoning the surrendered garrison. The castle was stripped of all valuables, and the town given up to a ruthless sack. "Men went wet-shod in wine."[2] The Duchess of York, discovered in the Castle with her sons George and Richard, was after a few days sent to her sister, the Duchess of Buckingham, where it is to be feared she was kept under strict surveillance and found her position far from comfortable.

The pursuit of the Yorkist leaders, conducted by Sir Andrew Trollope, was so close that they found it necessary to divide. Accordingly, taking with him his son Edmund, the Duke turned into Wales, breaking the bridges as he went, and finally succeeded in escaping to Ireland.

Flight of Edward, Warwick and Salisbury.

Edward was entrusted to the care of Salisbury and Warwick. With only Sir John Dynham and two other men for company, the three Earls made a most adventurous cross-country ride through Herefordshire, Gloucestershire and Somersetshire, to the Bristol Channel. Probably their plan from the first was to try to reach Calais, where the name of Warwick was omnipotent and they would be safe from the royal vengeance. Arrived at the coast, "apparently somewhere near Barnstaple," they bought, through the agency of Sir John Dynham, a fishing boat for 220 nobles.[3] A master and four mariners were hired, ostensibly to take the party up to Bristol; but when they had got out to sea they made their real

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi ed., Kingsford, p. 170.

[2] Gregory, p. 206.

[3] For the best account of their escape and what follows see Oman's "Warwick."

destination known. The Earl of Warwick "asked the master mariner and the others if they knew the way towards the West; to which they answered nay, nor did they know the course of that sea for they had never been there: at which all the noble company were dismayed—then the Count of Warwick, seeing his father and all the others thus troubled, said, to cheer them, that, so please God and my lord Saint George, he would bring them to a haven of safety. And, in fact, he stripped to his doublet, and went to the helm; then he had the sail hoisted, upon which the wind blew so that they arrived at the isle of Guernsey."[1] For eight days they remained in Guernsey wind-bound: but on the ninth day in a favouring breeze and a rough sea they ran up the Channel and arrived at Calais.

Arrival at Calais.

It was November 3rd, about three weeks since the Rout of Ludford; the chances were that already Calais would be in the hands of enemies. But they had taken the risk, and to their joy found Warwick's friends still in full control. Lord Fauconberge, whom he had left when he went over to England, came down to meet them on the Quay, rejoiced at their safe return. "Then all those lords went together in pilgrimage to Notre Dame de St. Pierre, and gave thanks for their safety. And when they came into Calais, the Mayor and Aldermen and the Merchants of the Staple came out to meet them, and made them good cheer. And that night they were merry enough, when they thought they might have found Calais already in the hands of their enemies."[2]

[1] Wavrin. See Edith Thompson, "The Wars of York and Lancaster," 1892, p. 60.
[2] Wavrin. See Oman's "Warwick."

But, although they had found refuge and safety for the time in Calais, the prospects of their cause must have seemed of the darkest. Never did a faction appear more completely overthrown, and that with a ludicrous ease.

Such was young Edward's introduction to the affairs of his family and party. The desertion by their friends and the necessity of headlong flight must have been a bitter disappointment to the Yorkist leaders. Perhaps one of them felt some consolation in his final emancipation from the control of his tutor, and in his acceptance as a man with a man's part to play by his father and uncle, and above all his glorious cousin Richard, Earl of Warwick. To the youth of seventeen the glory of adventure, the cross-country ride, with such company, the voyage with its dangers, and the excitement of arrival at Calais, must have gone far to outweigh the thought of defeat. But to become thus an outlaw, depending on strength and daring for his life, with everything to win, nothing but life to lose, was not the most fortunate training for a future King of England.

Opinion in England.

But the exiles were not forgotten. Stories of their doings were told all over England, and ballads composed about them which showed that their ultimate success was expected and hoped for—

> " E. for Edward whos fame the erth shall sprede
> Because of his wisdom named prudence,
> Shall save alle England by his manly hede,
> Wherefore we owe to do hym reverence.
> M. for Marche, trewe in every tryalle,
> Drawen by discrecion that worthy and wise is,
> Conceived in wedlock, and comyn of blode ryalle
> Joynyng unto vertu, excluding alle vises." [1]

[1] " Archæologia," Vol. XXIX, p. 330.

Indeed the Earls defied all England, to the growing exasperation and finally the serious alarm of the Lancastrians. Meanwhile, to prevent the passage of adherents of the Yorkists across the Channel, and to guard against a landing—perhaps, too, as reinforcements for Somerset, who had established himself in King Henry's interests in the Castle of Guines—troops were sent to Sandwich, under the command of the Lord Rivers. This personage calls for notice. Richard Woodville, the Duke of Bedford's steward, after the Duke's death had married, probably in 1436[1], the widowed Duchess, Jacquetta of Luxemburg, a match which caused great scandal at the English Court. For some time the marriage was not recognised, but after paying a fine the pair received a pardon, and Woodville is again found serving in France, with distinction, under Talbot, Somerset and York. In May, 1448, he had been advanced to the dignity of Baron, as Lord Rivers. His promotion seems to have been offensive to the older aristocracy ; and he was personally obnoxious to the Earl of Warwick as having been one of the commission to enquire into his attack on the Lubeck salt fleet in 1458.

Capture of Lord Rivers by the exiles.

For some weeks Rivers lay at Sandwich. Early in the New Year, Warwick determined to try the effect of a surprise expedition. It was completely successful. The royal ships lying at Sandwich, with the exception of one, which was out of repair, were taken across to Calais, and with them the Lord Rivers himself, who had been taken in his bed, and his son Antony Woodville. The prisoners were brought before the Earls on the evening of their arrival. The extraordinary scene that followed is preserved for us

[1] "Dict. Nat. Biography."

in the Paston Letters. When Lord Rivers appeared before them they proceeded in turn to scold him; "my Lord Salisbury rated him, calling him knave's son, that he should be so rude to call him and these other Lords traitors, for they should be found the King's true liege men when he would be found a traitor. And my Lord Warwick rated him, and said 'that his father was but a squire, and brought up with King Henry the Fifth, and since made himself by his marriage, and also made a Lord; and that it was not his part to hold such language of Lords, being of the King's blood.' And my Lord March rated him likewise. And Sir Antony was rated for his language of all the three Lords in likewise."[1]

Of all the strange revenges that time could bring, this incident perhaps brought the strangest. Subsequent alliance in council and field could never obliterate the bad blood which Neville haughtiness and Woodville ambition bred between them. The Earl was to have cause greater than ever to hate the upstart success of the Woodvilles; and they were to personify the victory of the new aristocracy over the old.

Edward at Calais in 1460.

In March, 1460, Warwick went to Ireland to consult with the Duke of York. Meanwhile Edward had probably had his first taste of actual fighting. The Duke of Somerset had constantly attacked the wagons bringing food into Calais, and skirmishes were incessant; but on April 23rd there was a regular engagement at Newnham Bridge at which Somerset was decisively beaten.[2] It must, nevertheless, have been a time of great anxiety. Warwick's absence and the uncertainty of his return delayed any decision as

[1] "Paston Letters," Vol. III, p. 203.
[2] William of Worcester, p. 772.

to the future. The news from England, however, was such as to justify the expectation that the time of exile could not be greatly prolonged. A ballad hung on the gate of Canterbury seemed to show that the Kentishmen were ready not only to welcome the Yorkists' return, but contemplated with pleasure the prospect of a change of dynasty—

"Send home, most gracious Jesus most benigne,
Send home the true blood to his proper vein,
Richard, Duke of York, thy servant insigne,
Whom Satan not ceaseth to set at disdain,
But by thee preserved he may not be slain . . ."

"Edward, the Earl of March, whose fame the earth shall spread,
Richard, Earl of Salisbury, named Prudence,
With that noble knight and flower of manhood,
Richard, Earl of Warwick, shield of our defence,
Also little Falconbridge, a knight of grete reverence,
Jesu! restore them to the honour they had before."[1]

The exiles invade England, June, 1460.

On the return, on June 1st, of Warwick to Calais preparations were at once begun. On June 26th the Earls of March, Salisbury and Warwick crossed the Channel with 2,000 men[2]—a small force for an invasion of England, but they had the certainty of large and immediate reinforcements. A full political manifesto was issued in the name of the Duke of York from Calais. He protested once more his loyalty to the person of the King; and the charges he brought against the Lancastrian government followed the lines which we might well expect—lack of governance, evil counsellors, excessive taxation, "oppression and violence" to the Church, the "murder" of the Duke

The Duke of York's manifesto.

[1] Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 91.
[2] William of Worcester, p. 772. Whethamstede, p. 372, says 1500.

of Gloucester, the attempt to introduce the military system that had lately been adopted in France. These were the principal counts of the indictment in home affairs: an appeal was made to patriotic sentiment by references to the loss of France, and to the intrigues of the Court with French and Irish.[1] Not a word was said of any intention to supplant the existing dynasty; indeed, "the memorial of the men of Kent" expressly disavowed any such idea. It accused the "false-brought-of-nought persons" about the King of telling him "how that the Commons would first destroy the King's friends, and after, himself, and then bring in the Duke of York to be their King, so that by these false men's leasings they made him to hate and to destroy his very friends."[2] The memorial laid great stress on the sanctity of the law, and was full of excellent constitutional theory.

Whatever the commons of Kent thought as to the intentions of the Duke of York, there was no doubt as to their welcome of his son and the Earl of Warwick. The latter, a ready speaker, gave it out that the invasion was to restore England to its former position at home and abroad. At Sandwich they were joined by Archbishop Bourchier with his Cross, and under such respectable auspices moved towards London, the little force growing as it went by the adherence of "the statys and cómyns of Kent."[3] Lord Cobham brought his tenants in to their support. Moving by Canterbury to Rochester they sent forward to announce their intentions to the authorities at London.

[1] See Stowe.

[2] See "Chronicles of the White Rose," Introduction, pp. lxxiv-v.

[3] "Short English Chronicle," p. 72.

Amid great excitement and popular rejoicing they entered the city on July 2nd, being met at Southwark by the Bishops of Ely and Exeter and conducted by them through vast crowds over London Bridge. Next day the Earls went to St. Paul's Cathedral, and there, in presence of the Archbishop and other Bishops, the Mayor, aldermen and estates of London, and again great numbers of people, the Earl of Warwick, as their spokesman, declared the reason of their coming, and vowed on the cross of Canterbury that they had ever borne true faith to the King's person.[1]

Arrival in London, July 2, 1460.

Meanwhile the Court, taken by surprise by the invasion of the Earls from the South, was striving to concentrate a force to oppose them, and had set up the royal standard at Northampton. By this time the friends of the Yorkists had come in to them, and Edward of March and the Earl of Warwick had with them the Archbishop and the Bishops of Exeter, Ely, Salisbury and Rochester and the Lords Fauconberge, Clinton, Bourchier, Abergavenny, Scrope, Say and Audley. The Yorkists set out to encounter the royal forces. The first night was spent at St. Albans, where a body of archers from Lancashire under Lord Stanley, was brought to the Yorkist standard.[2] Next day the army pressed forward again. The weather was rainy and the going heavy—consequently the infantry began to lag behind.

The march to Northampton.

" The King at Northampton lay at Friars, and had ordained there a strong and mighty field in the meadows beside the Nunnery," " in the new field between Harsyngton and Sandyfforde," " armed and arrayed with guns, having the river at his

[1] " Short English Chronicle," p. 73.
[2] Wavrin, p. 296.

back."[1] The position was fortified with deep trenches and ditches full of stakes, and was flanked on both sides by the river. On the night of July 9th the advance guard under Edward himself had reached a position from which they could overlook the King's position.[2] Next morning the Yorkists got their forces under array at the place known as Danes' Camp.[3] The Lancastrians, confident in the strength of their position, sent mocking answers to the messages of their enemies, and finally saying he would see the King or die, at two o'clock Warwick gave the word for the Yorkist advance. Before the battle Edward and Warwick gave it out that the King and the Commons were to be spared : it was the nobles that were aimed at, the King's advisers, those who kept them from their Sovereign's presence. The Yorkists attacked in three divisions, of which the first, the right, was led by Edward ; the centre and left were under Warwick and Fauconberge respectively. The position they had to assault by frontal attack was very strong. The heavy rain that had fallen had filled the trenches with water ; but on the other hand it had also rendered Henry's artillery useless—it was in many places under water. Still, at first, the Yorkists could make no impression on their opponents' position. Suddenly the men opposing the division of the Earl of March[4] ceased fighting and offered to assist the Yorkist soldiers in scaling the slippery banks that enclosed the Lancastrian position. In a few minutes Edward and his men were over, and running along

The battle of Northampton, July 10, 1460.

[1] Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 96.
[2] Wavrin, p. 296.
[3] See C. R. B. Barrett, "Battles and Battlefields of England," p. 124.
[4] Wavrin.

inside the trenches gave opportunity for the entrance of the other Yorkist divisions. A few minutes' sharp fighting and the battle was done. The Lancastrian force was quickly broken and fled, some being drowned in the Nen in trying to escape; but not more than 300 men in all perished. It remained to take possession of the King's person. The poor monarch was found sitting alone in his tent, and seemed relieved by the profound respect with which Edward and Warwick approached him. Assuring him that they had only taken arms against those who had brought about their exile, and that they were loyal to his person, they led him to Northampton, where for three days they rested. On July 16th the victors entered London conducting the King with every mark of respect, the Earl of Warwick bearing his sword before him; [1] he was lodged in the Palace of the Bishop of London near St. Paul's. The Londoners were delighted at the victory, and at the moment their feelings for Henry were perhaps colder than they had ever been.

Capture of King Henry.

In the pause which ensues we may take stock of the position of affairs, and the part played by the Earl of March in the exciting events of the last few weeks. It is important to remember the story of the nine months which elapsed between the rout of Ludford and the re-establishment of the Yorkists in the following July. During all that time Edward, at an age peculiarly liable to receive lasting impressions, had been an exile, defying his King, the witness of deeds of violence and bloodshed and revenge, knowing no higher law than that of his cousin, the Earl of Warwick. He had landed in England with

Summary of Edward's experiences in 1459-60.

[1] Third Continuator of Croyland, p. 454.

the taint of a conspirator, and found his cause and that of his friends overwhelmingly popular. At Northampton he had an opportunity of displaying the personal courage and strength for which he was always noted; and Northampton was the first of his many victories. The battle seems to have offered little opportunity for the exercise of strategic or tactical genius, but doubtless he learnt lessons from it, for at his next appearance in the field he is the fully equipped military commander with an eye for his ground and the faculty of getting hard work out of his troops, a clear idea of what he wants, and with the confidence and lack of hesitation which make a great general.

Returned to London he began to have experience of the practical duties of administration, and already showed that desire to be impartial and to administer the law without favour that he always professed. At all and every occasion from Ludford to Northampton and afterwards he was overshadowed by the masterful energy of his cousin, Richard Neville. He saw him in every circumstance of success and failure, perhaps wondered at his inordinate love of business, and chafed at his arbitrary temper. From the praise or blame for what Edward afterwards became Warwick cannot be absolved. The lad was his to teach and his to control, and in the personal feeling which he brought into affairs, the arrogance of his personal pretensions, his vengefulness and contempt for law, he set him a very bad example. During this time of their companionship Edward learnt to know him well. He learnt his strength and his limitations. A time was to come when that knowledge became to him of extreme importance.

CHAPTER III

THE ACHIEVEMENT OF KINGSHIP

Edward in London, July to October, 1460.

THE ascendency of the Yorkists meant, of course, changes in the Government, and Henry gave his consent to the appointment of George Neville, Bishop of Exeter, a younger brother of the Earl of Warwick, as Chancellor. He received the seals on July 25, the Earl of March being present.[1] Warwick himself was reinstated as Governor of Calais. Edward remained in London, where, at the beginning of September, he welcomed his mother, the Duchess of York, and his brothers, George and Richard, and his sister Margaret.[2] When his mother was summoned to go to Hereford to meet her husband he was left to look after the children, and went daily to see them. This quiet interval in London was of service to him later. The Londoners became familiar with his tall, handsome person and genial presence. The King being much away at Greenwich and Eltham, and Warwick paying a visit to Calais, Edward would be the most conspicuous and distinguished representative of his party in London. The astonishing vicissitudes of fortune that had befallen him, the romantic story of his adventures in Calais and his prowess at Northampton endeared him to the popular imagination.

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 458.

[2] They were lodged at the house of the late Sir John Fastolf.—"Paston Letters," Oct. 12th, 1460.

The Duke of York claims the crown.

Not till October 26th was any definite step taken to complete the dynastic revolution, when his father, who had landed on September 8th, claimed the crown, handing to the Chancellor a written statement of his pedigree, emphasizing his descent from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, elder brother of John of Gaunt, and tracing it back through Edward III to Edward I. The Lords declared themselves unable to return an immediate answer to the question thus presented to them, and laid the case before the King, who instructed them to make out his case and to draw up the legal objections to that of the claimant. But considered coldly and critically by a coldly critical Parliament, York's claim could not stand. The feeling of the Londoners was definitely against the deposition of King Henry. York's friends, sensible of his mistake, urged him to desist from his claim; the Earl of Warwick, ever a mirror of the popular mind, was angry that the Duke had so far compromised his party. We have one account[1] of the controversies which followed his father's assertion of his claim which represents Edward as playing a conspicuous and honourable part in inducing him to forego it. He seems to have agreed with Warwick in considering it a mistake. A curious scene is recorded as taking place when Warwick went to remonstrate with his uncle on the step he had taken. The young Earl of Rutland, deprecating his anger, said, "Fair sir, be not angry, for you know that we have the true right to the crown, and that my Lord and Father here must have it." But the Earl of

[1] That of Wavrin, on which too much reliance must not be placed. See him, pp. 310-14. Oman's "Warwick," pp. 99-100.

March, his brother, stayed him and said, "Brother, vex no man, for all shall be well." But the Earl of Warwick would stay no longer when he understood his uncle's intent, and went off hastily to his barge, greeting no one as he went save his cousin of March. Conferences of the leading nobles of the Yorkist party were held, and Edward, after an effort had been made to influence York by a deputation headed by the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, consented himself to approach his father and represent to him the opinion of his friends. Unwillingly the Duke gave way and a compromise was arrived at by October 31st, whereby it was agreed that the King was to remain King for his life; the Duke of York was recognised as heir apparent, and his heirs were to succeed to the crown after him. The next day, November 1st, there was a procession to St. Paul's, for a thanksgiving service, Edward carrying the King's train.

The compromise of October 31st.

The compromise was really greatly in favour of the Yorkists. The Act of Settlement of 1406 was now repealed, and Henry's position as King rested on the new agreement which actually, though not nominally, recognised the indefeasibility of the legitimist claim. Henry was placed under obligations to York, and it was easy to see that an infraction of the agreement on his side could be made an excuse for carrying the affair to its logical conclusion. The Duke of York, from the moment of his landing in England, appears to have acted in a high-handed and bombastic way quite unlike his usual demeanour, and his popularity in London had suffered greatly thereby.

How the new arrangement would have worked we have no means of judging. Before many days were

The Lancastrians after the battle of Northampton.

over it was a thing of the past and Richard's death had wiped out from the memory of the Londoners their suspicions of him in the last few weeks of his life.

After the defeat at Northampton Queen Margaret had fled to Wales, where she was joined by Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke and the Duke of Exeter. There remained, in spite of the losses at Northampton, many Lancastrian chiefs who had no notion whatever of submitting to the Yorkist authority. The battle had caught them unawares; many had been on their estates, raising troops which were too late to save the day. But they were very far indeed from regarding their cause as lost, and as time went on, and the new Government made no effort to crush them, they gained in numbers and boldness and began to concert a plan of action. The Duke of Somerset, who had been reconciled to Warwick at Guines,[1] but had afterwards stolen away to his estates, came up to join the Queen, as did the Earl of Devon. In the North the Earls of Northumberland and the Lords Clifford, Dacre of Gillesland, Roos, and Neville (a brother of the Earl of Westmoreland) began systematically to ravage the estates of York and his allies, oppressing his tenantry, and bringing their retainers down as far as Hull, which was chosen as the place for concentration. Before the Government was aware of what was going on, a force of 15,000 had assembled and the Queen went up to join it.[2] She was in communication with the Regency of James III of Scotland, and her intrigues were of the utmost importance, enabling her to secure a base for the Lancastrian operations and later to enlist troops of Borderers in

[1] Wavrin, p. 305. William of Worcester, p. 773.
[2] Gregory, pp. 209-10.

her army. As early as August 12th the Earl of Salisbury had been commissioned to march to the relief of Roxburgh and Berwick, which King James II had attacked, and the northern Sheriffs were ordered to assist him;[1] but the counties were out of hand and nothing was done.

At last it became evident that hostilities against the Lancastrians must be taken in hand, and at the beginning of December the Lord Protector, as the Duke had been appointed shortly after the compromise of October 31st,[2] taking with him his second son, Edmund, Earl of Rutland, and the Earl of Salisbury, left London for the North, raising forces under the King's commission as they advanced. After an unexpected check from a body of men under the Duke of Somerset at Worksop, the Yorkist force arrived on December 21st at Sandal Castle by Wakefield and lay there over Christmas. On December 29th they were caught unprepared for battle and completely crushed.

Battle of Wakefield, December 29th, 1460.

The Duke of York was slain and decapitated after, according to one authority, a mock trial and bitter insults.[3] The young Earl of Rutland was killed by Lord Clifford as he was endeavouring to escape from the field over Wakefield bridge. Salisbury, captured the day after the battle, was executed at Pontefract. A feeling of horror seemed to pervade the country when the battle and its details became known: the Yorkists were thought to have been treacherously attacked, and the whole people seemed to strain for revenge.

Edward at Gloucester, December, 1460.

[1] Rymer, Vol. XI, p. 461.
[2] Ramsay, ii, p. 235.
[3] Whethamstede, p. 381.

The stage was now clear for Edward of March; on November 14th he had been appointed Constable of Bristol Castle, Keeper of Kingswood Forest in Gloucestershire, Fulwood in Somerset, Gyllingham in Dorset, and the Parks of Mere and Everley in Wiltshire, with an income secured on the Revenues of Bristol.[1] Shortly afterwards he left London for the West, with commission to raise a force on the Marches, with which he was to march north and join his father for the proposed attack on the Lancastrians. At Christmas he was at Gloucester,[2] after which he moved to Shrewsbury,[3] where the news of Wakefield reached him. The whole countryside hastened to his standard. His house had been popular for generations: Mortimer was a name that was before all others, and the deaths of York and Rutland were such as to rally round his son every friend, tenant or dependent that the house had ever had. Before long the new Duke of York found himself at the head of a very considerable force, with which he moved forward, apparently with the intention of throwing himself between the advancing Lancastrians and the capital. But as he went he was made aware of a force behind him that made his position perilous, as he might be trapped between two hostile armies. The Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire, who had remained behind when the Queen went north to collect an army on her behalf, had arrived by sea, and were now advancing with a force of Irish, Frenchmen and Bretons in his rear. He determined to strike at it as it came. Wheeling round, he marched

[1] Rymer, xi, 465.
[2] "Short English Chronicle," p. 76.
[3] Vitellius, A., xvi, ed. Kingsford, p. 172.

by Ludlow and Leominster, and on February 1st had placed himself by the enemies' line of march at Mortimer's Cross by Kingsland in North Herefordshire. The field of Mortimer's Cross is a plain, now cut up by hedgerows, but until fairly recent times an open common. It is bounded on the north side by a stream, the river Lugg, behind which the plain is broken by a low line of hills. To the west the country is much varied and becomes very hilly in the direction of Wigmore, which lies about four miles from the scene of battle. On the south and south-west a stream, the Pinsley, runs through marshy fields which in former times were impassable in winter time. Even now heavy rain will render them dangerous, but the stream has been deepened.

The Battle of Mortimer's Cross, Feb. 2nd, 1461.

At ten o'clock on February 2nd some curious reflection in the sky gave the effect of three separate suns, which afterwards coalesced into one.[1] Popular superstition eagerly accepted Edward's interpretation of the phenomenon as a good omen:—"Be of good comfort and dread not; this is a sign, for these three suns betoken the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost, and therefore let us have a good heart, and in the name of Almighty God go we against our enemies."[2] "And then he kneeled down on his knees and made his prayers and thanked God, and anon freshly and manly he took the field upon his enemies and put them at flight."[3]

The details of the battle have not been preserved, and local tradition, the aspect of the ground and the

[1] Chronicle ed. Davies, p. 110. "Short Eng. Chronicle," p. 26.
[2] Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 110.
[3] "Short Eng. Chronicle," p. 76.

circumstances of the combatants can only suggest the strategy and tactics which probably led to the victory of Edward. It must be remembered that he was in his own country and knew his ground perfectly; his use of the natural features of the country against his enemies is one of the characteristics of his military genius. The Lancastrian army was coming up the Watling Street: we may suppose that it was Edward's intention to attack it when, with the Pinsley marshes in its rear, he would be able to break it in two and drive it off the field into divergent lines of retreat. There is a local tradition that a Welsh force, which did not come into action, was at the time of the battle on a hill called Wapley Rabbit Warren, to the south-west of the field. The evidence of graves would show that there was heavy fighting on both sides of the modern road near the monument which is supposed to mark the site of the battle. The Lancastrian force, containing apparently few Englishmen, would be deficient in archers. Edward's attack was completely successful and his enemy was driven from the field with heavy loss, according to some authorities losing 3,800 men. Fugitives were chased into Wales and also towards Hereford, where Edward's sore heart prompted him to follow the evil precedent of Wakefield and execute his prisoners. The most notable of the captives thus beheaded was Owen Tudor, husband of Queen Katherine, the widow of Henry V, and father of Edmund, Earl of Richmond, and Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, who could not believe he was to die until the executioner cut away his collar, when he bewailed that "this head must lie on the block which was wont to lie in Queen

Execution of Yorkist prisoners.

Katherine's lap."[1] Pembroke and Wiltshire got away into Wales and fled from the country.

Edward for some days rested his men, and prepared to march for London. It seems probable that he was kept informed of the state of feeling in the capital and knew of the feeling which the conduct of the Lancastrians had aroused.[2] After their easy success at Wakefield the Queen had been to Scotland where, for the promise of Berwick and the hand of her son for the young King's sister, she had cemented an alliance that put at her service reinforcements drawn from the roughest of the Border population. With these she joined the Lancastrian force which then began its march south, plundering and burning the towns and villages through which it passed.

Advance of the Lancastrians.

Warwick, who had been on his estates, returned to London after the battle of Wakefield, put himself at the head of the forces that the Southerners could hastily muster, and taking the King with him, marched out against the Northern army. At St. Albans, on February 17th, the Yorkist army was soundly beaten, showing very poor fight, and the tactics of the commanders being far from brilliant.[3] Warwick got safely away, probably not before he had indicated his intentions and hopes for the future to his friends in London. The King, left behind by Warwick as he fled from the field, rejoined his wife, and it seemed only a question of a few hours before London must be in the hands of her troops. Orders were issued for the immediate arrest of Edward of York.[4] The capital was overcome with terror:

Second battle of St. Albans, Feb. 17th, 1461.

[1] Gregory, p. 211.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 424.
[3] See Gregory, p. 211.
[4] Lingard, Vol. V, p. 224. "Rot Parl." v, p. 487.

messages were sent to the West to implore Edward to advance and save them. The Duchess of York took the precaution of sending off her young sons, George and Richard, to the Court of Burgundy, where they were most kindly entertained.[1]

Edward marches on London.

Edward's army was moving towards London, and on February 22nd had reached Burford, or Chipping Norton,[2] half way between Mortimer's Cross and London, where he was met by no less a person than the Earl of Warwick himself, who had ridden straight from the battle at St. Albans to meet him. On February 12th he had despatched to him a commission from the King to raise forces in Bristol and the counties of the Marches and to bring them to his aid.[3] He now had to tell him of the condition of affairs created by the defeat at St. Albans. Edward was despondent,[4] but Warwick told him of the universal eagerness of London and the South for his arrival, and the peril in which their own cause and lives stood if London should fall into the hands of the enemy. Doubtless important decisions as to the future were come to without delay. Warwick had hesitated[5] before at the idea of the change of dynasty: but circumstances now made it an absolute necessity. The conduct of the Lancastrians absolved him from his oath. There was no time to be lost, and Edward at once put his army in motion again. As he advanced he had ample evidence

[1] E. Hall, 253. Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 110.

[2] Gregory, "Burford," p. 215. Hearne's "Fragment on Cotswold," p. 284. William of Worcester, "Chipping Norton," p. 777.

[3] Rymer, xi, p. 471.

[4] Gregory, p. 215.

[5] According to Wavrin: not necessarily from a feeling of constitutional propriety.

of his popularity and of the hopes that were fixed on him, "and so his heart was somewhat made glad and comforted."[1] On February 27th,[2] to the unbounded joy of the citizens, he entered London, and the immediate danger was past. Vast crowds greeted him and there were not wanting significant shouts and sayings which pointed to the next step. The hesitation of the Londoners was gone. Henry had deserted them and broken his covenant—

Reception in the Capital.

> "He that had London foresake,
> Would no more to them take."

His Queen's name was a symbol of terror and desolation. And here was their rescuer, young, brave, handsome and victorious. The frantic crowds almost worshipped him. They called him the Rose of Rouen and made many ballads about him:—"Let us walk in a new vineyard, and let us make us a gay garden in the month of March, with this fair white rose and herb the Earl of March." "The Essex people swarmed into London to see, aid and comfort this lusty Prince and flower of Chivalry, as he in whom the hope of their quickness then only consisted;"[3] "no man was spoken of, no person was remembered but only he."

The needed touch of sentiment was supplied. It was no longer simply a question of administration or mal-administration; it was no case for the scrutiny of a lawyer-drawn claim, no question of self-seeking and presumption. The whole of the south of England, especially the counties of Essex, Kent, Sussex

[1] Gregory, p. 215.

[2] Vitellius, A., xvi, says Feb. 26-7. "Brief Latin Chron.," March 2. Chronicle, ed. Davies, Feb. 28th. Gregory, Feb. 26th.

[3] Grafton, i, p. 672.

and Middlesex, as well as the capital itself, had felt the touch of real peril and were now rejoicing in their deliverance. His father's and brother's deaths, the exile of his brothers, the dangers he had surmounted himself, made the figure of Edward symbolic of all that was moving them. He was the heir who had been kept from his inheritance—they could say it now for him where four months before they had deeply resented his father's claim.

Preparations to make him King.

Edward took up his abode at Baynard's Castle, where throughout the 28th he and his friends made arrangements for consummating their success. On March 1st[1] George Neville, the Chancellor, addressed a large body of citizens and troops which were assembled under Lord Fauconberge, and explained to them the claims of Edward to the throne. Their assent to his statements was given in a universal "Yea, yea."

Meanwhile all the magnates of the Yorkist party who could be reached had been summoned to town, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Salisbury, the Duke of Norfolk, the Lords Fitzwalter and Ferrers of Chartley were present with Warwick and the Chancellor and a deputation representative of London, when on March 2nd Edward, at Baynard's Castle, was formally requested to take the crown, articles of his claim having been drawn up and examined by them.[2] There only remained the ceremony which would ratify and announce his kingship. There was no idea of the necessity beforehand of a Parliamentary recognition. He was to be King by right: the recognition was to be one merely of fact. He was King by inheritance, and King because no

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi, ed. Kingsford, p. 172. William of [Worcester, p. 777.
[2] *Ibid.*

one else could be. On March 3rd his proclamations were issued to the public.

On the next day, March 4th, there was a solemn Procession to St. Paul's, where Edward "offered" and the Chancellor preached at the Cross explaining the position. He called on the people to trust the "inspiration of the spirit" which has "established to us the very true and faithful right of old time in diverse realms long time wrongfully kept out." "Wrong is put out for right." There is little argument and the preacher does not hesitate to condemn as blind sinners all who are not with him.[1]

Becomes King, March 4th, 1461.

Thence Edward proceeded in state to Westminster, where he entered the Great Hall and seated himself on the throne, with the sceptre[2] in his hand. He himself rehearsed his claim and title and the crowd of onlookers were asked if they would have him for King, and again the answer was a universal "Yea, yea." Then and there Edward took the oaths as King. He then proceeded to the Abbey and was met by a procession of monks headed by the Abbot, who conducted him through the Choir to the High Altar, then to the Shrine of St. Edward, where he "offered" as King.

After this he returned to the Choir, and seated on a throne beneath a canopy, received the homage of the nobles present. When the ceremony was over he took possession of the Palace, where, apparently, he spent the night.[3] The next morning, March 5th, he proceeded by boat to the City, being proclaimed

[1] See "Archæologia," Vol. XXIX, p. 127-9.

[2] According to Vitellius, A., xvi. See Hearne's "Fragment," p. 286. "Brief Latin Chronicle," p. 173, says it was put in his hand by the monks when he went to the Abbey.

[3] Vitellius, A., xv. "Brief Latin Chronicle."

as King. "Te Deum" was sung at St. Paul's in the presence of a great crowd. His residence for the time was the Palace of the Bishop of London. That evening he received the Mayor and confirmed the liberties of the City. The ceremony of actual Coronation and anointing was postponed, Edward himself declaring that he would not be crowned until he had killed or driven out his father's enemies. But the decisive step had been taken, and he was King.

As to the enthusiasm of his acceptance by the southern half of the Kingdom there is no question.

Popular Opinion of him.

What was the popular opinion of him is well shown in the political poems written at the beginning of his reign. Henry's government brought England to "huge languor"—the rule of his Queen was "a curse"—the foreigners had the "domination" of England.

"A gret signe it ys that God lovythe that knight
For alle thoo that woold have destroyed hym utterly,
Alle they are myscheved and put to flyght.
Than remember hys fortune with chevalry
Whiche at Northampton gate the victory,
And at Mortimer's Cross he had the honour."

May he "see a good way and directionn
To make peas in Engeland that riche and poouer
May joyful synge at the conclusyon
Welcome everlasting joye and farewell languore."[1]

One lays stress on his hereditary claim—

"Oute of the stoke that longe lay dede,
God hathe causede the to sprynge and sprede,
And of al Englond to be the hede
Edwardus dei gratia.

"Sithe God hath geven the thorough his myghte
Oute of that stoke birede in sight
The floure to springe and rosse so white
Edwardus dei gratia.

[1] "Political Poems and Songs" (T. Wright). "Rolls" Series. Vol. I, p. 267.

" Re Anglia et Franciæ, y say,
Hit is thine owne, why saist thou nay ?
And so is Spayn, that faire contray
Edwardus dei gratia."[1]

Not only were the people pining for a ruler who could really rule, but, as the above verses show, there was the old hankering still for Continental conquest and dominion. Englishmen seldom liked a king who did not make war. They had respected and pitied Henry, but their hearts warmed to the young and gallant figure who seemed to promise so much—

" Edwarde the fourth the olde wronges to amende
Is wele disposede in wille, and to defende
His londe and peple in dede, withe kynne and myghte."[2]

Edward's physique and character at his accession.

Physically he was equipped with all that becomes a king. Probably by this time he had attained his full six feet three and a half inches in height. His beauty was striking, and is remarked upon by every writer, English or foreign, who saw him ; and his figure combined grace with great strength. From early years, as we have seen, he was familiar with military affairs, and he had already become the finest soldier in the country : he could judge the capacities of his men, was capable of getting their best out of them, and was a real strategist. Young as he was he was considered " fully equal to the management of the affairs of State."[3] Of his self-indulgence and vice we hear nothing yet : but he had learnt the lesson of striking hard and striking cruelly. The deaths of his father and brother with their hideous details

[1] " Archæologia," Vol. XXIX, p. 130-1.
[2] See " Warkworth " Introd., p. xxii. Additional Verse to Lydgate.
[3] Cont. Croyland, p. 425.

would go far to sour and embitter and harden the heart of a son and brother of eighteen, and had on him a lasting effect for the bad. He had seen rapid alternations of success and failure, and in after years showed a certain cynical calmness in misfortune and victory as if he despised both. Bred in a faction, accustomed to intrigue and with experience of treachery, he yet preserved a certain openness and thoroughness of affection which was sometimes abused. Such was the man who, on March 4th, 1461, was proclaimed as King Edward IV.

CHAPTER IV

TOWTON—CORONATION—PARLIAMENT

THE King had busy days. He dined with and received the loyal addresses of the Mayor and Corporation of London, promising them a full observance of their liberties, and exhorting them to be faithful to his cause. But while there remained an unbroken army of Lancastrians his tenure of the crown was precarious in the extreme. It was obvious that the enemy in the North must be encountered and defeated at once. **Edward in London.**

The Yorkist ministry, which had been instituted after the battle of Northampton, had never been replaced, so Edward merely had to ratify the reappointment of his cousin, George Neville, as Chancellor, and of his uncle, Henry Viscount Bourchier, as Treasurer. From the first he had all the resources of government at his command and could set about raising money and troops.[1] There seems, though, to have been a Lancastrian party in the City, for on March 12th a grocer, named Walter Walker, of Cheapside, was beheaded in Smithfield; some expression that seemed to imply contempt for Edward's title was made the excuse for an example to others who might not willingly accept the new dynasty.[2] Meanwhile, troops were coming in, and being sent on up the North Road. To the army which had accompanied Edward from the West were added reinforcements, principally from Kent and Essex. The towns were ready to

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 269.

[2] See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 88, ii, p. 151. Vitellius, A., xvi, p. 175.

send men " as many as they did when the King sent for them before the field of Ludlow "[1]—a fact which marks the revulsion of feeling against the Lancastrians.

Sets out for the North.

The main body left London on the 11th, and two days later the King, commending his mother to the care of the Mayor, left the City by Bishopsgate " in goodly order," and began his march to the North. He was joined by more troops at Barkway, in Hertfordshire,[2] and at St. Albans. Marching by Cambridge he was at Pontefract on the 27th. By this time he had discovered the whereabouts of the Lancastrian host. Basing themselves on York they were occupying a position twelve miles from that city, with the river Aire acting as a screen in their front. By a skilful manœuvre the Yorkist army was able to cross the Aire at Ferrybridge and Castleford, and marching forward concentrated behind and to the east of the village of Saxton, north of Sherburn on the road from Doncaster to York.

The field of Towton.

The Lancastrian camp was in and behind the village of Towton, about two miles from Saxton.[3] The plain of York is broken to the north of this village by a considerable elevation, a plateau which runs along the side of the road to Tadcaster and continues along east of Towton to a point slightly north, where it slopes down to a stream which has come round from the west of the plateau, the little river Cock. On the west side the descent to this stream is sudden, almost precipitous, and the valley in which the Cock

[1] " Paston Letters," Vol. III, p. 266.

[2] Ramsay, ii, 270, for Edward's itinerary.

[3] The best accounts of the battle are those of Professor Oman, " Political History," Vol. IV, 407-8, " Warwick," 120-126. See also R. Brooke, " Visits to Fields of Battle," 1857.

runs is narrow, the ground rising steeply again on the other side. At this season the stream was in flood, under which circumstances even now it covers a considerable breadth; the deep mud and the depth of the channel rendered it impassable except at a ford to the north and east of Towton. The Lancastrians drew up in fighting array between Renshaw Wood, which crowns the steep east side of the Cock Valley, and the High Road, a position which the lane from Saxton to Towton almost bisects. The highest point of the plateau is that opposite to the point where the Cock turns sharply to the west behind Hazlewood Ings, and superficially the position seemed very strong. It was true that the right wing was completely protected by the Cock Valley; but any weakness on the left would tell with fatal effect on the whole army. If it were turned in on the Lancastrian centre, the enemy would be able to sweep round on the low ground and cut off the natural line of retreat on Tadcaster: if it were cut off from the centre and forced out to the east, the same effect could follow. March 29th was Palm Sunday. At early dawn the Yorkist force, after a night of intense cold, and hunger too, moved out of Saxton to attack their enemies' position. With Edward were, besides the Earl of Warwick and Lord Fauconberge, the Lords Bourchier, Stanley, Scrope of Bolton, Berners, Clinton, Grey of Ruthyn and Montagu, a younger brother of the Earl of Warwick. With the Lancastrians were the Dukes of Somerset and Exeter, the Earls of Northumberland, Devon, Shrewsbury and Wiltshire, and the Lords Roos, Clifford, Beaumont, Welles, Willoughby, Moleyns, de Mauley, Ferrers of Groby, Hungerford, Lovell, Dacre, Grey of Rougemont,

Antony Rivers, who had, by wedding the heiress of the nobleman slain the previous July in London, become Lord Scales, and Neville, one of the elder branch of the family, who for family reasons supported Henry VI.[1]

The numbers of the two armies, according to contemporary chronicles, amounted to nearly 100,000 men, in the proportion of three to two in favour of the Lancastrians. These figures are probably a ridiculous over-estimate: but that the forces were very large is certain. Perhaps 40,000 would be nearer to the truth, the Lancastrians having a decided advantage in numbers.

The King addressed his troops, telling all who were afraid of the coming conflict to depart at once, as no quarter was to be given or taken, and he wanted with him only those who were prepared to face a fight to the death.[2] Lord Fauconberge led the way with the van, which was to form the left wing; the King with Warwick took the centre and the right, where at present they were weak; the Duke of Norfolk, with Sir John Wenlock, who had had difficulty in keeping their troops from straggling, having not yet arrived.

The battle of Towton March 29th, 1461.

The first object of the Yorkists was to induce their opponents to break from their position: this seems to have been achieved by Fauconberge, whose archers assailed the Lancastrian right.[3] A blinding

[1] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, 406.

[2] Details of the fight from Hearne's Fragment, Brief Latin Chronicle, Gregory, Whethamstede, Cont. Croyland, Wavrin, Fabyan, Hall, Grafton, and Calendar of State Papers and MSS. relating to English affairs in Archives and Collections of Venice.

[3] Grafton, Vol. I, 676.

snow-storm rendered the Northerners' aim ineffective, and breaking from their position they came to hand-to-hand fighting with the Yorkists, in the depression which runs across the field, known as Towton Dale. For long the struggle continued, with immense slaughter. Meanwhile the Yorkist right seems to have given way before superior numbers, and it needed the King's personal encouragement and exhortation to rally his men. The Lancastrian success had drawn their left down away from the centre into the open ground. Their right had moved forward and was engaged in a deathly struggle with Fauconberge. Warwick and Edward clung on to the centre, until, after midday, the Duke of Norfolk's troops arriving on the right drove the loose array of the Lancastrian left in towards Towton. At the same time the Yorkists delivered an attack on the centre which pressed it back on to the retreating left. The Northern army began to go to pieces; their right, now isolated, was cut down, or driven off the field to almost certain death in the valley of the Cock. The left and centre in hopeless confusion were driven through Towton, pressed more and more west by the advancing Yorkists. Those who broke away to the open ground to the east were pursued for miles and slain in hundreds. The road to Tadcaster ran then to the north-west behind the village, as a lane runs now, to Cock ford. The descent is very steep, and with the flooded stream at the bottom it became a death-trap. Hundreds were drowned. The ford was choked with bodies, and the Yorkists were able to wreak a terrible vengeance on their adversaries, wedged in helpless confusion in the valley. The number of slain is variously stated at figures from

25,000 to 38,000, an impossible figure :[1] but all agree that the carnage among the Lancastrian host was terrible. Corpses lay scattered for miles along the road towards York, the snow was stained with blood which, when it melted, discoloured the very waters of the Wharfe. Of the Lancastrian leaders on the field were slain the Earl of Northumberland, Lords Dacre, Welles, de Mauley and Neville, Sir Henry Stafford, son of the late Duke of Buckingham, and Sir Andrew Trollope. Forty-two knights were taken and slain in cold blood after the battle. Edward's losses were very slight in comparison. The Dukes of Somerset and Exeter got away with other Lancastrian lords and joined Henry and Margaret and their son in a headlong flight from York to the North.

The King's victory was complete, and his share in it an important one. The handling of the Yorkist forces showed the unity and purpose of a master mind ; and his personal courage was conspicuous. But again his success was marred by the cruel slaughter of his prisoners of rank. All that can be said is that the Lancastrians had set him the example ; but it was an ill beginning of his reign. And awful as the slaughter was it failed to end the struggle. The poison of civil strife only sank deeper into the blood, and again and again England was to see the rival Roses in conflict in the field.

Edward at York.

Next morning the King entered York " with great solemnity and processions."[2] The Lords Montagu and Berners[3] met him and tendered the submission of the city, which Edward received with promises

[1] William of Worcester, in striking contrast, says 9,000.
[2] " Paston Letters," Vol. III, 266.
[3] " Venetian Papers," p. 370.

of leniency and good government. He had already appointed Warwick to receive the submission of all "rebels" who should come in.[1] But some of the Lancastrian chiefs who were captured in York, the Earl of Devon, Sir William Hill and Sir Thomas Fulford, were at once beheaded: their heads replaced those of the King's father and brother which Margaret, three months before, had put over the gate of York looking towards London; and the obsequies of the Duke of York and his son were celebrated at Pontefract at considerable expense.[2] The King celebrated Easter in state at York. He had meanwhile written to inform his mother of his victory. The news was received in London on Easter Eve and Te Deum was sung at St. Paul's. "I am unable to declare how well the commons love and adore him, as if he were their God; the entire kingdom keeps holiday," wrote one who was in London at the time.[3] Good governance was looked for from the new King. "Thus far he appears to be a just Prince and to mean to amend and organise matters otherwise than has been done hitherto." His mother's influence was strong with him—she "holds the King at her pleasure."[4] The Duchess—now described as "late wife unto Richard, rightfull King of England," gave herself all the airs of a Queen Dowager, earning for herself the nickname of "Proud Cis." But she was likely to exert herself on behalf of moderation and good government.

The King remained at York for some days, conferring with his advisers. He then made a progress to Durham, where he stayed from April 20-30th,

[1] Rymer, Vol. XI, p. 474.
[2] Devon, "Issues," p. 486.
[3] "Venetian Papers," p. 374.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 372.

Royal progress in the North and Midlands.

receiving the submission and oaths of fidelity of people of all classes as he went. He was at Newcastle on May 1st to witness the execution of the Earl of Wiltshire—particularly obnoxious to the Yorkists as Queen Margaret's confidant—who had been caught at Cockermouth. Leaving Newcastle on May 2nd he returned to York, staying at Middleham on the way.[1] Serious resistance seemed to be over. Leaving Warwick and Fauconberge to conduct the necessary military operations in the extreme North, the King began a long progress through the north-western and midland counties for the purpose of establishing his power in those districts. He was at Preston on May 17th, and moving by leisurely stages through Manchester and Chester, districts which had strongly supported the Queen's party, he passed through Stafford, Lichfield, Coventry, Warwick, Daventry and Stony Stratford to the Royal Palace at Sheen by Richmond-on-Thames.[2] Preparations had been going on for his Coronation, which was to be performed "with the usual ceremonies, but most unusual congratulations."[3] It had been delayed by the fear that the King would have to go north again to raise the siege of Carlisle;[4] but this Lord Montagu successfully accomplished with great slaughter of the Scots. The ceremony was accordingly fixed for June 26th, Sunday. In 1460, December 28th, Childermass Day, had fallen on Sunday, a fact which made Sunday the "unlucky" day for the following year, and there was some idea of postponing the Coronation to the following day on this account.[5]

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 274.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Habington, p. 19.
[4] "Paston Letters," iii, p. 276.
[5] Ramsay, ii, p. 275. "Paston Letters," iii, p. 280.

Coronation, June 27th, 1461.

The King came up to Lambeth on June 26th, from whence he was conducted by the Mayor and Aldermen "all in scarlet, with 400 commoners, well horsed and clad in green; and so advancing themselves, passed the Bridge, and through the City, they rode straight unto the Tower of London, and rested there all night."[1] That evening he made eight and twenty "Knights of the Bath," and four more next morning. At noon the procession started from the Tower to Westminster, the new knights "proceeding immediately before the King, in their gowns and hoods, and tokens of white silk upon their shoulders."[2] On the Sunday the actual ceremony of Coronation was performed in the Abbey by Archbishop Bourchier. On Monday morning, possibly to avoid ill consequences from the unlucky Sunday,[3] the King attended service in the Abbey, crowned; next day he proceeded crowned to S. Paul's. Vast crowds attended him, and witnessed a religious Pageant in which "an angel came down and censed"[4] the King.

He was now at the height of his popularity. "The Rose of Rouen" was celebrated in ballads and songs which recounted his prowess in the field—

"The Rose won the victory, the field and also the chase;
Now may the husband in the South dwell in his own place,
His wife and eke his fair daughter, and all the good he has;
Such means hath the Rose made, by virtue and by grace.
Blessed be the time, that ever God sprad that flower!

The Rose come to London, full royally riding,
Two archbishops of England they crowned the Rose King;
Almighty Jesu save the Rose, and give him His blessing,
And all the realm of England joy of his crowning."[5]

[1] Hearne's "Fragment," p. 288.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Ramsay, ii, pp. 275-6.
[4] Vitellius, A., xvi, ed. Kingsford, p. 175.
[5] "Archæologia," xxix, p. 343. See Edith Thompson, p. 88.

After the Coronation the King's first business was to reward his chief followers. His young brothers, George and Richard, who had returned to England from their refuge at the Court of Philip of Burgundy, where they had been most courteously and honourably entertained, were created Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, titles chosen as emphasizing the hereditary honours of the family, and its claim to represent the national policy of "good Duke Humphrey." Other kinsmen and supporters shared in the spoils.

The Earl of Warwick received substantial honours, being appointed Constable of Dover Castle, Warden of the Cinque Ports, Warden of the East and West Marches of Scotland, Great Chamberlain of England, and continued in the Captaincy of Calais.[1] Grants of lands forfeited by the Lancastrians were made to the new Peers to maintain their new dignities.

State of the country.

The Coronation festivities being over it was thought that the King would go north to assist in putting an end to the incursions of the Scots, and Lancastrian movements in that quarter.[2] But he lingered on in London. The country was greatly disturbed, and in Norfolk particularly the adherents of the Yorkists were clamouring for their revenge on the powerful landlords who were of Henry's party. The people "grudge and say that the King receiveth such of this country as have been his great enemies and oppressors of the Commons: and such as have assisted his Highness be not rewarded: and it is to be considered or else it will hurt."[3] A visit from the

[1] Oman's "Warwick," p. 134.
[2] "Paston Letters," iii, p. 296.
[3] *Ibid.*, iii, p. 281.

King himself was hoped for, but he decided to make a progress through the southern and western counties, hoping to receive the submission of the Lancastrians in those districts. Leaving London at the beginning of August he passed through Kent, staying from August 14th to 26th at Canterbury; visiting Ashford, Sandwich, and Battle Abbey,[1] he was at Lewes on the 22nd, where we get a glimpse of him replying to the Earl of Essex, who was induced by the Pastons to intercede on their behalf with the King in the matter of their claim to a manor, that "he would be" their "good lord therein. He would hold with you in your right; and as for favour he will not be understood that he shall show favour more to one man than another, not to one in England."[2] The King moved on to Arundel and Bishop's Waltham. At East Meon he found the tenants of the Bishop of Winchester much perturbed by certain claims of payment and service for their tenures that their landlord was demanding. The King quieted them by telling them to send a deputation to London to present their case; and in the ensuing Parliament the Bishop was upheld in his demands.[3]

Royal progress to the West.

On the 30th Edward was at Woodstock, and on September 4th entered Bristol, where he was received with great honour. "First at the comyng inne atte Temple Gate there stude Wylliam Conquerour, with three lordis, and these were his wordis—

King Edward at Bristol, September, 1461.

"'Wellcome Edwarde! oure son of high degree
Many years hast thou lakkyd oute of this lond.
I am thy forefather, Wylliam of Normandye,
To see thy welefare here through Goddys sond.'

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 277.
[2] "Paston Letters," iii, p. 291.
[3] "Rot. Parl.," v. p. 475.

"Over the same gate stondyng a greet Gyant delyveryng the keyes.

"The receyving atte Temple Crosse next following—

"'There was Seynt George on horsbakke, upon a tent, fyghtying with a dragon—the Kynge and Queene on hygh in a Castell: and his doughter benethe with a lambe; and atte slaying of the dragon there was a graet melody of aungellys.'"[1]

The Mayor, William Cannynge, was a strong Yorkist,[2] and had taken the lead in fitting out a fleet to act against Jasper of Pembroke who was threatening hostilities in Wales. The King stayed with the Mayor at the "Great House" in Redcliffe Street, and received at his hands a sum of 3,000 marks, which he had received for the dues of the City during his mayoralty. He remained some days in the city, and is reported to have witnessed the execution there of a noted Lancastrian, Sir Baldwin Fulford, who had been commissioned to command a fleet against Edward and his companions in Calais in the Spring of 1460, and had boasted that he would capture them. He was "taken on the sea sailing into Brittany to raise people against the King."[3]

Feeling the great importance of the port of Bristol the King took stock of the number and value of the vessels owned by the merchants of the town; and a few months later renounced all his ancient rights and authorities of lordship, except over the Castle.[4]

[1] Warkworth, Notes, p. 32.

[2] See "Memoirs of the Cannynge Family" (Pryce), 1854. My best thanks are due to Mr. E. J. Taylor, Town Clerk of Bristol, for his kind answer to inquiries and the many references he sent me.

[3] See Chronicle, ed. Davies, p. 85.

[4] Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," ii, p. 190 *seq.*

Leaving Bristol he proceeded by Gloucester, Ross and Hereford to Ludlow, where he was again among his own people. To mark his gratitude for "the praiseworthy and gratuitous services" of the town "in aid of recovering the right of the crown of England, withheld from us," he granted a Charter of Incorporation; and before long gave orders for the restoration of the Castle and part of the town, which had suffered severely from the Lancastrian sack in 1459.[1]

On August 29th he was at Birmingham. Visiting Coventry, Warwick, Daventry and Stony Stratford, London was reached on October 6th.[2] Almost immediately the King went to reside at Greenwich, where he was able to indulge his love of the chase. His progress seems to have had good results in the pacification and reduction to order of the counties through which he passed. The gentry and "men of worship"[3] of all Wales were reported to have come in, and the Castles had been delivered to the King.

King Edward's first Parliament.

Edward had returned to London in time to open Parliament in person on November 4th. The Chancellor chose for the theme of his address the text "amend your ways and your doings" (Jeremiah vii, 3), doubtless a congenial subject. Edward was merely recognised as King, there being no question of the necessity for any confirmation on the part of Parliament. The Speaker, in a complimentary address, dwelt on "the honourable and noble devoir that it hath pleased your highness to put the same in, of Princely and Knightly prowess

[1] See "History and Antiquities of Ludlow."
[2] Ramsay, ii, p. 278.
[3] "Paston Letters," iii, p. 311.

and courage for the redemption of your said realm and subjects from the persecution and tyranny of your and their great and infaciable ennemyties."[1] He remarked on Edward's success at Mortimer's Cross while labouring under the grief caused by his father's and brother's deaths—the rapid march to London, and the crowning victory of Towton. "The noble and condign merits, Princely and Knightly courage, in the great and victorious acts afore rehearsed, the beauty of personage that it hath pleased Almighty God to send you, the wisdom that of his grace is annexed thereunto, and the blessed and noble disposition and application of your said Highness, to the commonweal and policy of your said realm, and to God's Church of the same, calleth upon us to give, therefore, as hearty and entire loving to God as we can; and with all humblesse possible, thank your good and benign grace shewed to our said Redemption and Salvation in manner and forme as afore declared."

The tone of the address showed how much the question was regarded from the point of view of London and the South, and gives the key-note of the reign. The question of title was next dealt with. Edward was held to have been seised of all rights of the Crown from the preceding March 4th. His descent from Henry III was recounted in full; and some stress laid on Henry's breach of the agreement made between himself and York in October, 1460.

The form the recognition of Edward took implied not only the usurpation of the Crown by his predecessors since Henry IV, but also the illegality of all the acts of their Parliaments: a position which

[1] "Rot. Parl.," v, p. 462.

would have caused complete dislocation of society and general insecurity. The lawyers avoided the difficulty by "asking for confirmation of judicial and ministerial Acts 'not done by authority of Parliament,' and so free from political taint."

Edward's speech.

The session was closed on December 21st—Parliament being prorogued till May 6th. The King was present in person to give his assent and thanks to the Speaker and Commons. "James Strangways, and ye that be come for the Common of this my Land, for the true hearts and tender considerations that ye have had to my right and title, that I, and my Ancestors, have had unto the Crown of this Realm, the which from us have been long time withheld; and now, thanked be Almighty God, of whose grace groweth all Victory, by your true hearts and great assistance, I am restored unto that that is my right and title; wherefore I thank you as heartily as I can. Also for the tender and true hearts that ye have showed unto me, in that ye have tenderly had in remembrance the correction of the horrible murder and cruel death of my Lord my Father, my Brother Rutland, and my cousin of Salisbury, and other I thank you right heartily: and I shall be unto you, with the grace of Almighty God, as good and gracious Sovereign Lord as ever was any of my noble Progenitors to their subjects and Liegemen. And the faithful and loving hearts, and also the great labours that ye have borne and sustained towards me, in the recovering of my said right and title which I now possess, I thank you with all my heart: and if I had any better good to reward you withal than my body, ye should have it, the which shall alway be ready for your defence, never spareing nor letting

for no jeopardy: praying you all of your hearty assistance and good continuance, as I shall be unto you your very righteous and loving Liege Lord."[1]

Local disturbances continued, and in Norfolk, as doubtless in other places, powerful landlords clung to their lawless and violent rule of their neighbourhoods.[2] The King was anxious that such lawlessness should be met by the regular methods of prosecution at law; and there was a feeling of greater confidence in his justice than in that of the judges whom he sent with Commission to sit in the riotous counties.[3] But it was becoming evident at the end of the year that the Lancastrians were beginning to raise their heads again and rumours of plots and foreign invasion were in the air.

[1] "Rot. Parl.," v, p. 487; Edith Thompson, p. 89.
[2] "Paston Letters," iii, p. 313. Oct. and Dec., 1460.
[3] *Ibid*, iv, p. 25.

CHAPTER V

THE LANCASTRIAN RISINGS

Foreign relations. France and Burgundy.

THE attempts of the Lancastrians from 1461 to 1464 to reverse the verdict of the battle of Towton, are so much interwoven with questions of foreign policy that it is necessary here to review the international situation that obtained in 1461.[1] The countries that have to be considered are France and her great feudatories Burgundy and Brittany, and the kingdom of Scotland. King Charles VII of France was closely related to both King Henry VI and Queen Margaret—the former the son of his sister Katherine, the latter the niece of his wife, Mary of Anjou. So in a more distant degree was Philip of Burgundy, who had married Isabella of Portugal, a daughter of Philippa of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt. In the case of King Charles the relationship counted for much, but his son Louis, soon to succeed to the throne as Louis XI, was not a man with whom personal ties greatly weighed, and it would soon be seen that policy and not sentiment was the mainspring of his actions. The Duke of Burgundy was personally friendly with the Earl of Warwick and the members of the House of York: but his son, Charles, Count of Charolais, set great store by his mother's family, and the strongest personal feeling of his early life was his attachment to the cause of Lancaster. Between the Kings of France and the Dukes of Burgundy there lay a great political question

[1] See Kirk's "Charles the Bold," Vol. I. Lodge's "Close of the Middle Ages," pp. 358-364. Pinkerton's "History of Scotland" (1797), pp. 196 *seq.*

which sooner or later must come up for solution, and would govern the relations between them. When by the Treaty of Arras, in 1435, Duke Philip abandoned the English alliance, he had been granted by King Charles all the towns and seigneuries on both banks of the Somme—a district which had long been in dispute between them—subject to the usual restrictions of feudal grant, and a stipulation that they might be redeemed by France on payment of 400,000 gold crowns. Duke Philip, in 1461, was a rapidly ageing man, and before long his health became so bad that he was more and more inclined to leave all ideas of territorial aggrandisement, and, always sentimentally attached to the Crown of France, to act the part of a peacemaker, concentrating his hopes on the idea of a Crusade against the Turks in which he might persuade the other powers to join him. Accordingly the Lancastrians could not look for real assistance from Burgundy. But while King Charles was alive they could look for French support. His son Louis, however, ascended the throne with schemes for his country that would guide his policy to the exclusion of all motives of sentiment. As a rebel who had himself used for his own purposes the discontents and intrigues of the great semi-independent feudatories of France, he knew that he must crush their power if France was to have again a strong centralised kingship. Of the great nobles whose independence and jealousy weakened the authority of the Crown, the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany were the most important, both from the strength and size of their possessions and from their situation on the flanks of the kingdom to the north-east and north-west. Francis II, Duke of Brittany, was not

Louis XI.

particularly formidable personally, but in alliance with Burgundy he became exceedingly dangerous. To keep these two apart, to play them off against each other and reduce them in turn to their proper subjection to the Crown, became the great object of Louis's policy.

In these circumstances the cause of the Lancastrians will be used by the three rulers only in so far as it contributes to the success of their respective policies towards each other, though had the Count of Charolais become Duke of Burgundy in 1461, as Louis became King of France, his attachment to their cause might have induced him to take up arms in their behalf, in which case it is certain that King Louis would have abandoned them. But Philip lived on till June, 1467.

Scotland.

In Scotland the cause of Lancaster was also complicated by relationships and parties. Philip was a relative of the widowed Queen Mary, daughter of Arnold, Duke of Guelders. The young King James III was in the hands of a Regency, at the head of which was Bishop Kennedy of St. Andrews, the leader of the party of "Old Lords" who clung to the traditional alliance with France. King James II, as the son of Joan Beaufort, had leaned to the Lancastrians, and the Duke of York's support of his rebel, the Earl of Douglas in 1456,[1] had induced him to consider his truces with England as only binding him to King Henry. A proposal to marry the Prince of Wales to a sister of James III, and the promise of the cession of Berwick, had induced Queen Mary to entertain Margaret of England in Scotland in January, 1641,

[1] See "The Governance of England," edited by C. Plummer, Oxford, 1885, pp. 258-260.

and to allow her to recruit the lawless borderers, whose subsequent march from the North had lost her husband his throne. But at that very time the Earl of Warwick succeeded in inducing Philip of Burgundy to send one of his Councillors, Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse, to Scotland in order to persuade Mary to abandon the Lancastrian cause.[1] The Regency, however, under Bishop Kennedy still persisted in their support of King Henry. But there was yet a third party in Scotland, the discontented Celts of the Western Isles under their chief, John, Earl of Rosse, Lord of the Isles, and in accordance with the precedent of his ancestors in stirring up domestic trouble in Scotland, Edward put himself in communication with them at once. By March, 1462, a treaty was signed with the Earl of Rosse, by which Edward agreed to his ally's proposed conquest of Scotland North of the Forth.[2] The island chiefs received pensions from Edward, as did the Earl of Douglas, who was to be supported in an attempt to reinstate himself in the Lowlands.

Edward's negotiations with Scottish malcontents.

The cession of Berwick by King Henry was carried out on April 25th, 1461, and for the next two years the Lancastrians received a fluctuating support from the Scottish Government. Queen Mary, however, at the instigation of the Duke of Burgundy, abandoned their cause, and in June and August, 1462, met Warwick in friendly consultation. The Earl proposed that she should marry King Edward,[3] and though the proposal came to nothing, a personal pique against the Duke of Somerset turned her indifference to the Lancastrians into positive hostility.

[1] See Lang, "Hist. of Scot.," Vol. I, p. 332 and *seq.*
[2] Rymer, xi, p. 484.
[3] See Ramsay ii, p. 290, Notes 3 and 4.

In the meantime King Edward had sent an embassy to Duke Philip of Burgundy headed by Lord Wenlock. They brought to Duke Philip the thanks of their master for the help he had received from him, to whom " of all mortal men he owed his crown." His assistance to the exiles at Calais in 1459-60, and the generous hospitality extended to Edward's brothers were particularly referred to, and the before-mentioned proposals for a dynastic alliance by marriage were now given definite form by the request of the hand of Mademoiselle de Bourbon, Philip's niece by his second marriage, for King Edward.[1] Duke Philip entertained his guests with his customary magnificence; but the proposed marriage was a serious matter. It meant that he would be obliged to support Edward's throne more definitely than he wished, and as yet that throne was not firmly established. There was still a Lancastrian heir, and the King himself seemed only to reign by the permission of the powerful Earl of Warwick. Accordingly the proposal received for the time being no definite answer. For Edward the match would have been very advantageous. It might have secured the firm alliance with Burgundy that would be necessary if France should decide to support the Lancastrians.

English embassy to Burgundy, November, 1461.

Rumours of Lancastrian plots and coming invasion were rife at the end of 1461 and in the early months of 1462. Their party in England was gaining courage. But Edward received information which enabled him to strike at the head of the party in East Anglia that had always been restive under his rule. On February 12th the Earl of Oxford and his eldest son, Aubrey de Vere, Sir Thomas Tuddenham and three others were

[1] Chastellain, iv, p. 155 and *seq.*

Execution of the Earl of Oxford and other Lancastrians.

arrested on a charge of conspiring for a Lancastrian landing. The prisoners were tried by John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, who was appointed Constable of England, by a process of summary jurisdiction unknown to English law, and were executed immediately, Oxford being hung on a new scaffold of great height to strike terror into the hearts of sympathisers. The executions were a shock to public feeling, and the irregular trial set an evil precedent. The leaders of the movement in that district thus removed, it seemed to the King the moment for the progress through East Anglia that he had been unable to make the preceding year. On March 2nd he was at Cambridge,[1] from whence he moved to Peterborough. He was at Stamford on March 9th and 17th, and wrote from thence to Thomas Cooke, Alderman of London, that the French and Scots were coming "to make such cruel, horrible and mortal war, depopulation, robbery and manslaughter, as heretofore hath not been used among Christian people; and with all ways and means to them possible to destroy utterly the people, the name, the tongue, and all the blood English of this our said realm."[2] He certainly did not wish his subjects to minimise their danger. "The same Henry our adversary hath granted and sent unto Louis de Valois, naming himself King of France, a renunciation, a release of the right and title that the crown of England hath unto the crown and realm of France." He knew how to arouse the indignation of the Londoners; and announcing that he is personally going to risk himself in fight "in tuition of this realm," he ends by asking Cooke to let his news be

Royal progress.

[1] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 33.
[2] Ellis, Letters, 3rd Series, i, p. 123.

known to the householders of London, who are to be gently led up to the point where he can ask them for a sum of money " of their goodness and free will." The King remembers their previous payments, but they will not regret a further sum if they give it now.

He was apparently expected at Bury St. Edmunds and Norwich,[1] but he went north instead, and proceeding as far as Lincoln, returned to Leicester for Easter.

Queen Margaret gets help from Louis XI.

Meanwhile matters had been ripening indeed for a Lancastrian invasion of the north. Queen Margaret, dissatisfied with the results of a visit the Duke of Somerset had paid to the Continent to raise succours on her behalf, herself set sail from Kirkcudbright on April 2nd, and visited the Duke of Brittany, from whom she received a gift of 12,000 crowns. After a short stay with her father she had an interview with King Louis, who had succeeded his father in July, 1461, at Chinon, when she induced him, on the security of the promise of Calais, to advance her a sum of 20,000 crowns.

Edward's consequent measures.

King Edward's answer to the French and Breton assistance to Queen Margaret had been to send the Earl of Kent and Lords Clinton and Audley with a fleet to sea to attempt reprisals. Not much was done, but there was a landing in Brittany and the Isle of Rhé. Louis now forbade to his subjects all communication with England, and feeling the moment a good one to attach to his crown the last of the English possessions called out ban and arrière ban for an attempt on Calais. Edward in turn proclaimed that all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty were to be ready to wait upon him whenever

[1] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 34.

they were called.[1] The City of London, which in August had made a loan of £1,000, was induced to give a further advance of 2,000 marks, and war seemed imminent.[2] But the influence of Duke Philip sufficed for the time to dissuade King Louis from any step of such gravity. Descending to less active and heroic measures, he merely put at Margaret's disposal Pierre de Brézé, an old political offender whom he released from prison to raise a force on her behalf. The able old soldier and 800 men were all she could show for her efforts with her cousin when in September she set sail from Normandy. There were war rumours everywhere. Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, was reported as being in Ireland, and his landing was expected.[3] At Calais the troops had become mutinous, and it was thought that Edward would have to go over to deal with them himself—for they were so wild "they will not let in any man but the King or my lord of Warwick."[4]

The King and the Merchant Staplers of Calais.

The King had outrageously refused repayment to the Merchant Staplers of Calais of a sum of £18,000 which they had advanced to him and his companions in their time of need in 1459-60, on the plea that the money had been due to the Treasurer of Henry VI, the Earl of Wiltshire, and was therefore confiscated by his attainder.[5] It is probable that the wages of the garrison were affected by this confiscation and their mutinous condition may well be accounted for by the fact.

It was not only in the West and South that the

[1] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 52.
[2] R. R. Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," Vol. I, p. 308.
[3] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 57.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] Fabyan, Grafton, ii, p. 2.

King's presence was required. At the end of October Queen Margaret landed in Scotland with a force of about 2,000 men. Picking up some Scottish reinforcements she sailed to Newcastle.[1] The Castle of Bamborough, which had been besieged for a month by a Lancastrian force, surrendered to her and was given to the charge of the Duke of Somerset and Sir Ralph Percy. Alnwick and Dunstanburgh rapidly followed suit; but Warwick, whom Edward had sent forward with a large army, marching towards her, the Queen, who was disappointed to find that the country did not rise *en masse* for her cause as she had expected, retreated to her ships and made for Berwick. A storm sprang up and wrecked the fleet, but Margaret got away, with the loss of her treasure, to Scotland.

Invasion of the North by the Lancastrians, Autumn, 1462.

The King was much occupied with preparations to reduce the Northumbrian castles which were still held against Warwick. Great guns were cast in London,[2] ships were collected in east coast ports, and finally, on November 3rd, he left London for the North. By the middle of the month he had reached Durham, but there he was unfortunately stopped by an attack of measles.[3] He seems to have supervised the arrangements for the sieges from Durham and Newcastle, but saw no active service himself. Before the end of the year Bamborough and Dunstanburgh had surrendered on condition that the garrisons should be spared in life and limb, and that Sir Ralph Percy should have the custody of both castles. The Duke of Somerset, and Percy, were brought to the King at Durham, where he kept his Christmas, and there

The King goes North against them.

[1] For the campaigns that follow and their dating, see "Archæologia," Vol. XLVII, Lingard and Oman.
[2] "Short English Chronicle," pp. 78-9.
[3] Vitellius, A., xvi, p. 177.

renouncing Henry, took oath to Edward as their King. Alnwick held out a few days longer. A force from Scotland under Pierre de Brézé approached to raise the siege, and Warwick leaving the castle to choose his ground for meeting the enemy, the garrison evacuated it, and joining the Lancastrian force retired with it to Scotland.

End of the campaign of the winter of 1462-63.

By March, 1463, the campaign seemed to be at an end; it is distinguished by its mercifulness and lack of bloodshed. There is every indication of a definite policy of conciliation—the besieged garrisons are allowed honourable terms, and the castles when captured are given to the custody of the late Lancastrian leaders. The King was doubtless personally responsible for this new departure: throughout his reign he never refused to pardon. He had learnt that severity could not stamp out disaffection: it was not his fault that the virus of faction and treachery rendered his leniency of no effect. To the Duke of Somerset he was especially cordial: his behaviour at Alnwick, when he showed himself ready to bear his part against the invading force from Scotland, seemed to guarantee the genuineness of his new allegiance.[1] The King, we are told, "held him very dear,"[2] gave him his livery and paid the wages of his men, and took him with him, when in February he returned to London, where they were received with full civic honours. In continuance of his pacificatory intentions, he released without ransom the French prisoners who had been taken and were brought before him at Westminster.

[1] See *English Historical Review*, April, 1906. Article by Cora L. Schofield.

[2] William of Worcester, p. 781.

He was soon followed to London by the Earl of Warwick, and the Court, the winter campaign satisfactorily ended, became very gay. The feastings of King and nobles were interrupted when a Scottish force, with King Henry and de Brézé, crossed the Border and laid siege to Norham. But the movement collapsed at the approach of Montagu and Warwick. The Scottish Government was getting tired of the Lancastrians. Queen Mary had remarried. and obtained control of the young King's person.

Changed policy of Louis XI.

All parties were the more ready to listen to proposals for a truce from the behaviour of the King of France, whose support of Henry had become very feeble and lukewarm. His domestic policy had offended the feudal nobles, especially the Duke of Brittany and the Count of Charolais, who was furious at his father's allowing the redemption of the Somme Towns. Louis began to need English support. Scottish and Lancastrian envoys, therefore, received little encouragement. The Bishop of St. Andrews, feeling that the French policy was thoroughly unpopular in Scotland, decided to hold out no longer. Edward had relied on the efforts of the Earl of Douglas on the Marches : but he was beaten,[1] and the King was on his part inclined to listen to the Scottish proposals. Lord Montagu, who had been appointed Warden of the East Marches, was commissioned in June to conclude monthly truces and safe conducts were granted for Scottish representatives.[2]

Change of Scottish policy.

The most able and persistent of the Lancastrians, Queen Margaret, left Scotland in August, 1463, with the Duke of Exeter and Sir John Fortescue. Failing

[1] Wavrin-Dupont, iii, pp. 163 and 172-3.
[2] Rymer, xi, pp. 499, 509.

to obtain substantial help in Burgundy, she was sent to Bar in Lorraine to join her father, and England saw no more of her for some years.

In July King Edward moved up to Northampton, where he was from July 8-28.[1] In August he was back in London, superintending the despatch of an embassy, which was to take part in a Conference at St. Omer. He instructed the ambassadors to make it a condition of a truce with France, that Louis should no more help the Scots. If the Duke of Burgundy wished for peace and commercial intercourse they were to find out if he had the power to offer terms independently of King Louis.[2] The King went to Dover to see them off and take charge of the Great Seal at the hands of the Chancellor. The meetings with the Burgundians and French were productive of the first definite truce with France since 1449. The tacit suspension of hostilities, which had governed the relations of Henry VI and Charles VII in the latter years of their reigns, was on October 24th, 1463, turned into a formal truce to last until October 1st, 1464, and Louis agreed to abandon all assistance to the cause of the Lancastrians.[3] He loaded the English ambassadors with presents and suggested that he was willing to consider Edward's claims to Normandy and Guienne in return for help against Burgundy and Brittany.[4] With Burgundy commercial treaties were ratified and extended for a year from October 22nd, 1463. No definite alliance was arrived at by any of the parties. That Edward had suspected

Truce with France, October, 1463.

[1] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 78.
[2] See Addit. MS., 4613, March, 1463.
[3] Rymer, xi, p. 508.
[4] Sismondi, Vol. XIV, 1463.

Louis of other designs is evident from the precautions he took to guard the South Coast.[1]

Resumed Lancastrian activities in the North in autumn, 1463.

In the autumn he was again occupied with preparations against the Lancastrians in the north. A fleet was placed under the Earl of Worcester, the ships being victualled at Sandwich and London and at the west country ports. The news that reached England seemed to show that the Lancastrians were in force, and the hopes of their partisans revived. The Duke of Somerset, whose unpopularity with the public outweighed in his eyes the benefits he had received from the King, escaped to join his friends in Northumberland. He had been pardoned on March 10th, 1463, restored to name, state, style, honour and dignity in Parliament in April, and treated with marks of affection and confidence by the King, who had lodged him in the Palace, taken him to hunt with him, and on one occasion, observing his heavy demeanour during some jousts at Westminster, had personally endeavoured to cheer him and pressed him to take part in the sport.[2] When in July Edward made a journey Northwards " to see and understand the disposition of the people," and stayed at Northampton, he had taken Somerset with him. There the popular feeling against his guest was so obvious that the King " with fair speeches and great difficulty " saving " his life for that time," sent him to a castle, possibly Ludlow or Wigmore, in the West, and despatched his men to Newcastle, taking them into his service. The men of Northampton were appeased by a tun of wine, which was drunk with great enjoyment in the Market place.

Edward and the Duke of Somerset.

[1] Chastellain, iv, 337. MSS. of the Corporation of Rye, 1463-4.
[2] Gregory, p. 221.

It was said that the King had not kept faith with the Duke, and that the payments due to him under promise had not been forthcoming.[1] It had been agreed that he should receive an annuity of £1,000, while his mother, Eleanor, Duchess of Somerset, was also to have £222 4s. 6d. per annum. The Duke had received payments of £100, £40, £10, 40 marks, and on June 23rd another £40, but subsequent to that date no other sum is recorded in the Issues of the Exchequer on his account. Whether, after he was sent away from Northampton it was a case of out of sight out of mind, or whether the King had early intelligence of treasonable intention and so stopped the payment, it is impossible to say.

Truce with the Scots, December, 1463.

Edward, who had advanced to Pontefract where he made a stay of some weeks, in December met a Scottish deputation at York. The changed policy of Bishop Kennedy bore fruit when, on December 9th, the King signed a truce till the following October 31st, in order that in the meantime ambassadors might meet and discuss a definite peace.[2] Thus by the end of the year the ground would be clear for active measures to stamp out once and for all the Lancastrian partisans in the North without fear of foreign interference. But for some time the plans of Henry's commanders hung fire. The King came south early in the New Year. He visited Cambridgeshire[3] in the middle of February, giving "grace" to those who asked it, except to the leaders of disturbances, and would have liked to go into Norfolk,[4] but was

[1] See *English Historical Review*, April, 1906. Article by Cora L. Schofield.
[2] Rymer, xi, p. 510.
[3] "Paston Letters," p. 95.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 91.

summoned to London by the arrival of envoys from the Duke of Burgundy, who had arrived with Philip's instructions to persuade Edward to the General Alliance that their master wished.[1] The King agreed to the proposal of another Conference at St. Omer, to be held on July 1st. The Duke of Norfolk meanwhile was given powers of life and death in Norfolk, and was to arrest all who were concerned with Somerset's party. After a short visit to Dartford the King returned to London. Once again he was called to the North. The expected Lancastrian movements had come. In the spring King Henry, the Duke of Somerset, the Lords Roos and Hungerford, in fact almost all the effective remnants of the adherents of the Red Rose, had invaded England and seized Norham Castle, even getting as far as Skipton in Craven. In Lancashire and Cheshire "the commons had been up" under Jasper, Earl of Pembroke, in great numbers. Warwick and Montagu led an army north, and the Cheshire rising collapsed. But in Northumberland the Lancastrians held the field. The Scots had signified their wish for a definite peace, and Edward empowered the Chancellor and his brothers, Warwick and Montagu, with Lord Greystock and others, to meet their ambassadors at York. Montagu went to meet and conduct them, and nearly lost his life at the hands of a Lancastrian band. Assembling his troops, however, he was able, on April 25th, to bring them to fight at Hedgeley Moor, and defeated them. The remnants of the Lancastrian forces then concentrated under the Duke of Somerset at Hexham where, three weeks later, on May 15th, Montagu dealt the final blow. Practically all the

Lancastrian outbreaks, Spring, 1464.

Battle of Hexham, May 15th.

[1] "Paston Letters," iv., 93.

leaders were captured, though Henry himself escaped from the field.

Edward's movements.

Meanwhile the King had just reached Nottingham. A French embassy was in London in April and matters of great future importance were probably then in discussion. Leaving London on April 28th,[1] Edward was at Stony Stratford on the 30th, and remained in the neighbourhood of Northampton for five days.[2] He was at Leicester from the 8th of May till the 13th, during which time he issued writs to summon a large army; and at Nottingham on the 15th.[3] By the end of the month he had reached York. He went no further. There, on May 26th,[4] he received Warwick and Montagu, who presented him with the bycocket, or coroneted cap of the fugitive Henry, which with other of his personal effects had been found in Bywell Castle. Some of his personal attendants were beheaded in Edward's presence that day. A series of executions had followed the battle of Hexham, batches of prisoners being despatched at Newcastle and Middleham on May 17th and 18th, of whom the most important were the Lords Roos and Hungerford. Sir Ralph Percy, guardian of the young Earl of Northumberland, had been slain at Hedgeley Moor, and on Trinity Sunday, May 27th, at the Palace of York, the King decided to reward Lord Montagu, for whom he had a warm personal regard, and to mark the downfall of the Lancastrian House of Percy, by creating him Earl

[1] He was at Windsor for a meeting of the Order of the Garter on April 23rd. See Anstis's "Order of the Garter."

[2] Ramsay, ii, 306. Note by Gairdner in "Three Fifteenth Cent. Chronicles."

[3] Red wine, geese and capons figure in the accounts of the Corporation for Edward's entertainment.

[4] See "Chronicles of the White Rose," Introduction, p. lxxxvi.

of Northumberland in place of the titular heir. He commissioned him to finish the work he had begun so well, by reducing the castles which still held out against him, while Warwick went off on a mysterious errand, to which reference will be made later. Alnwick, Dunstanburgh and Norham surrendered without resistance, but Bamborough was only taken after bombardment and assault. Its commander, Sir Ralph Grey, wounded as he was, was brought to Doncaster, where the King lay from July 13th-15th, to be tried before the Constable. He was sentenced to be beheaded, but according to one authority the King remitted the additional penalty of degradation of knighthood for the sake of his "noble grandfather," the Sir Thomas Grey who was executed at Southampton with the Earl of Cambridge in 1415, "the which suffered trouble for the King's most noble predecessors."[1]

Severity of the King's policy towards the defeated Lancastrians.

The North was now completely subdued. Only the castle of Harlech in Wales was held against the King. The policy of mercy had been exchanged for one of extreme severity. The cold-blooded execution of prisoners revived the memories of three years back. The strongest of the apologists of the Earl of Warwick must allow that some of the blame of this lapse must rest on him. There was the bitterness of family feud in the Nevilles, and Warwick was ever one to pursue his own cause to its logical conclusion. It is true that of the victims of May and June, 1464, some, the Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy and Sir Ralph Grey, had by their treachery forfeited all hope of mercy: but others who were involved in the same fate were not guilty in the same sense.

[1] "Chronicles of the White Rose," Introduction, p. lxxxvii.

Foreign relations.

The deaths of the Duke of Somerset and the active chiefs of the Lancastrians, were recognised at home and abroad as marking the success of the new dynasty, and as a guarantee of its stability. It was true that Henry was still at large, and Margaret and the young heir in Lorraine: but the Yorkists seemed impregnable in arms, and the nations of the Continent, occupied for the most part with domestic and Continental problems, were not inclined to support the forlorn hope of another Lancastrian invasion. Scotland, on June 1st, had signed a truce for fifteen years,[1] and was thus removed from the sphere of English politics for some time. Abroad Edward had been considered something of a *parvenu*. Pope Pius II had been early informed by the King himself of his accession, and furnished with a copy of his family tree. But Henry had been a close ally of the Papacy, and Pius was offended by the open partisanship of the Papal Legate, Coppini, who had, after the battle of Northampton, been promised a Bishopric by King Henry under the influence of the Yorkist ministry. In November, 1461, Edward granted him an annuity of £100, and in order to recommend him to the Pope made him Proctor for England at the Papal Court. On March 22nd, 1462, Pius had brought himself to congratulate the King, in very guarded terms, however, recognising that he had obtained the realm of England "to which, you write, you have come by right of descent as is contained in the note of your genealogy which you have sent to us."

Edward and Pope Pius II.

The Duke of Milan.

In the first year of his reign the King had received and shown extreme courtesy to the agent of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan. "The King loves you as if

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 525.

you were his father,"[1] wrote the delighted guest, "and would not let me leave him, took me hunting and came to Sandwich with me on my departure." Now, in April, 1464, Denmark and Poland recognised the new dynasty;[2] in August relations were opened with Brittany and a truce concluded. Shortly afterwards negotiations were begun with the Kingdom of Castile,[3] extending, according to some authorities, to a proposal from the King for the hand of Isabel, sister of the reigning King, and afterwards wife of Ferdinand the Catholic. But by far the most important of the many marriage projects on behalf of King Edward was that of Louis XI, who proposed that he should wed Bona, daughter of the Duke of Savoy, the sister of his own Queen.

Denmark and Castile.

For two years the King of France had been fighting the evergrowing discontent of all classes of his most powerful feudatories and subjects. His danger was thus acute, and at all costs he must get allies for the struggle which could not long be delayed. To effect his desire he turned to the man who seemed all-powerful in England, the Earl of Warwick. On all sides the Earl was considered the real ruler of England. In Burgundy Edward was said "to reign by virtue of the Earl of Warwick" and "nothing can be proposed in the kingdom without him."[4] Bishop Kennedy speaks of him as "conductor of the said realm of England under King Edward."[5] In a report to his master, Louis XI, the Governor of Abbeville writes: "They tell me that they have but two rulers in England—Monsieur de Warwick and another,

Proposed marriage of Edward to Bona of Savoy.

[1] "Venetian Papers," p. 385.
[2] Rymer, xi, p. 537.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 534.
[4] Chastellain, Vol. V, p. 21.
[5] Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 165.

whose name I have forgotten."[1] In England the same feeling was widely spread; and it is significant that the Lancastrians always considered him their deadliest enemy. Their depression had meant the rise of himself and his family.

The Earl of Warwick.

The power of the Nevilles may well have appeared to observers from outside overwhelming and all-important. The personal characteristic of the Earl himself was his inordinate love of business and power. To this was joined an extraordinarily personal way of regarding all problems of diplomacy, government and politics. He was the idol of the democracy, who were dazzled by the splendour of his establishments and hospitality and the tales of his warlike exploits. But he does not seem to have had many really intimate and devoted friends. His brothers were under the sway of his impetuous will, but at times it demanded of them more than they could give.

The subtle insight of King Louis rightly told him the value of the support of such a man, and indicated the means of acquiring it. He was possibly aware of an already felt antagonism between the Earl and the Count of Charolais, who regarded Warwick as the fountain of the distress of his mother's family. The two men were too strong and too much alike in their methods to be able to escape contact. So Louis had at hand promising material for the schemes he cherished.

Embassies to France and Burgundy, Summer, 1464.

In June the English embassy which King Edward had promised to send to meet Philip of Burgundy and King Louis at a new Diet, set out, under the leadership of Lord Wenlock, having power to extend the truce with France to October 1st, by which time

[1] Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 184.

another embassy was to be sent. On June 17 the Earl of Warwick, whom Edward had mysteriously despatched from York at the end of May, also left London with ninety attendants.[1] The reason for his not being with the embassy of Wenlock is obscure. It appears he went no further than Calais: Wenlock and his colleagues, however, proceeded to Hesdin, where they met Louis and the Duke of Burgundy. Louis was disappointed at not finding Warwick with them, but Wenlock assured him that the Earl was to accompany an embassy later. After some days' negotiations Louis invited Wenlock and Sir Richard Whetehill to Dampierre, some nine miles from Hesdin, where he brought with him his Queen and her two unmarried sisters; Bona of Savoy, a lady of considerable personal attractions, was shown to Wenlock, who was loaded with compliments and gifts by Louis to induce him to use his influence to bring about a marriage between her and King Edward, which Wenlock, with proper thanks, promised to do.[2] Meanwhile the Vice-Chancellor of Brittany was in England and the Duke of Burgundy was in private correspondence with Edward. Warwick was back in London on August 5th, but five days later he again set out with sixty attendants, on an embassy to Duke Philip, with whom he was in secret conclave before August 30th. The matters in discussion were probably the relations of Burgundy and Brittany towards the King. The truth of all these mysterious transactions seems to be that Louis, in his foreign as well as in his home policy, had for the moment

[1] For Warwick's Journeys see *English Historical Review*, October, 1906. Article by Cora L. Schofield.

[2] Chastellain, v, p. 21.

overshot the mark. Warwick's mood was not ripe for anti-Burgundian intrigues. The Duke had been a firm friend to him, and the behaviour of Louis made him pause before committing himself. So long as Philip lived the Earl was never hostile to Burgundy, though he wished for closer relations with France. Edward may have dwelt much in his orders to him on the promising conspiracy of Burgundy and Brittany, and hoped that by working for an alliance with them the marriage project would die a natural death. However this may be, the fact remains that Warwick was nevertheless allowed to consider the French marriage and alliance, a project possibly broached by the French embassy to Edward in April,[1] an open question, and his personal feelings certainly inclined that way. However, for the moment nothing was settled, but the idea grew in distinctness in the next three months. An embassy which was to have gone to meet Philip and Louis in October understood that the matters proposed for discussion included not only proposals for a truce or final peace, but also for Edward's marriage. But on October 3rd, 1464,[2] Lord Wenlock, writing to France from Reading to explain the delay of the embassy in arriving, gave the real reason for the shifting and uncertain diplomacy of the last three months, which was that Edward was already married.

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 305. Note 3.
[2] Wavrin-Dupont," iii, p. 182.

CHAPTER VI

THE MARRIAGE OF KING EDWARD

King Edward, from his accession to his marriage.

"For the next three years it may be said, with no great exaggeration of the facts, that Edward IV reigned, but the Earl of Warwick ruled in England."[1] So a modern historian introduces his account of the period from the prorogation of Parliament in December, 1461, until October, 1464. Indeed, when we regard the ubiquitous activities of Richard Neville, whether in arms on the Scottish border, administering justice in England or conducting foreign affairs, his presence seems to overpower that of the King.

But the activity of Warwick does not necessarily imply the inactivity of Edward. That, after Towton, he never was actually in arms in the field was due not entirely to sluggishness or neglect, as has been implied. At the end of 1462 illness had prevented his reaching the front; but his presence and supervision seem to have conduced to the satisfactory termination of the campaign. In December, 1463, when he again went north, hostilities had died down before his arrival. If he was not at the front he had plenty to do in superintending the raising of forces and in the ordinary administration of the country while his cousin fought his battles. The long progresses he made in 1461, 1462 and 1464 were undertaken for reasons of State. In February, 1464, returning from the North he had spent some time in the Midlands, visiting Gloucestershire with justices to punish "his

[1] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV., p. 411.

rebellious against the law."[1] There had been riots at Bristol in the previous autumn, and in this district, as in East Anglia, there seems to have been open disregard of the Royal authority. The King's presence undoubtedly had influence in keeping the discontents from more open manifestation. His success on each occasion shows a power of dealing with varied and difficult situations.

His administration of Justice.

But there were also the ordinary details of administration and justice, to which he seems to have given considerable personal attention. In the Michaelmas Term of 1462 we find him taking his seat on the King's Bench to watch his Chancellor try the case of a widow who had been robbed.[2] This was evidence of a desire to understand the methods and spirit of Justice. Its administration between man and man was improved by his declared intention to rule by law. No doubt his abstract love of Justice had to submit to many an offence; the conditions of the time and the circumstances of his accession placed him very much at the mercy of his powerful friends. But that it was an individual trait, and that Edward's tendency was at first to leniency and fairness, is a fair inference from the story of the first three years of his reign.

He was alive to any response or lack of response to his orders. In October, 1461, we find him intending to make an example of John Paston the elder for disregarding his Privy Seal.[3] At Newcastle, at the end of the following year, he marks the absence of two prominent men of Norfolk whom he had summoned to follow him.[4] In June, 1464, he is angry at the lack

[1] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 91.
[2] "Brief Latin Chronicle," p. 175.
[3] "Paston Letters," iii, p. 313.
[4] *Ibid.*, iv, p. 59.

of response to his summons of others in that turbulent county.[1] He was learning by repeated experience that so long as the great nobles had power to protect those who disobeyed him, his authority would be nothing. Perhaps he noticed the ease with which the Earl of Warwick raised the men of his estates, the almost regal state he kept and the authority of his name, and began to chafe at being overshadowed by a subject.

Edward's second Parliament, April, 1463.

The need for fresh supplies of money had obliged him to summon a new Parliament, which he opened in person on April 29th, 1463. A sum of £37,000, subsequently reduced by £6,000, on account of the distress in some towns, was granted as an "Aid." The imposition of the necessary tax to raise this sum gave considerable dissatisfaction in the country.[2] The clergy, who had granted a tenth in the summer of the preceding year, to which the Convocation of York had added another half-tenth in September, were grumbling, too.[3] In November, 1462, the King had taken a most unwise step, in order to win for himself the definite adherence of the Church, by exempting the clergy from all lay jurisdiction whatever. In the Charter by which he made this grant he lays England's troubles to the infringement of the liberties of the Church.[4] He who by Divine grace had acquired his hereditary right to avert the anger of God now declared that no Royal official of any kind should enquire into any misdeeds of the clergy. No King's officer was to molest or imprison any cleric, but to send him at once to the

Edward and the Church.

[1] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 93.
[2] Warkworth, "Chron. White Rose," p. 108.
[3] "Brief Latin Chronicle," p. 176.
[4] Wilkins' "Concilia," iii, p. 583.

ecclesiastical authority. The reasons for this retrograde step are not very evident. The Church may have helped to keep alive the national devotion to King Henry: but its importance at the moment scarcely seems to justify such a bribe. We may perhaps perceive in it the hand of the Chancellor, George Neville, who was beginning to scheme for his own purposes. For the present their extended liberties seemed to the clergy insufficient compensation for the calls on their purse.

Edward in foreign policy.

In foreign policy Edward seems, so far as he had any clear ideas at all, to have had a personal preference for an alliance with Burgundy. He had not forgotten, and would not be allowed to forget, that the loss of France had discredited his predecessor; and the hope of its recovery had contributed to his eager reception as King by the nation. Living for some months in London, while Warwick was in the North, he perhaps began so early intimate relations with the merchants of the city, and was induced to adopt the commercial policy that they desired. The trade with Flanders was the keynote of the foreign interests of London. French trade was unimportant in comparison, though Gascony and Guienne were still coveted for the wine trade. But it is evident that in foreign affairs the King was without large ideas, and his uncertainty was increased by private reasons with which we shall have to deal.

The Royal household.

One of the complaints against Henry VI had been the prodigal wastefulness of the expenses of the Royal household. Here not much improvement was at first observable. Edward had a taste for fine furniture[1] and good living. Later in his reign he reorganized

[1] See Devon, "Issues of the Exchequer," p. 490.

the household on a great scale and in an exceedingly businesslike manner. He had from the beginning a liberal establishment. We find Patents of appointment for a large number of Court and household functionaries. He was fond of music, and early appointed a band of Royal minstrels. John Clerk, of London, was his Apothecary, and on May 9th, 1464, there was an Issue of the Exchequer on his account for no less a sum than £87 18s. 7½d. "for certain physic supplied for the said King's use, and administered to him under the advice of the said King's physicians."[1] The sum is extraordinary large. It would seem that expensive drugs of some sort had already been found necessary for a man of twenty-two, and we can only conjecture that his irregular method of life had been visited by natural consequences.

Grants to his relatives.

To the claims of kinship he was always sensitive. His mother, his sisters Anne, Duchess of Exeter, and Margaret, received incomes suited to their position. With his brothers also he dealt liberally. George, Duke of Clarence, was appointed on February 28th, 1462, Lieutenant of Ireland for seven years, afterwards increased to ten,[2] and in September, 1464, received large grants of land in Kent, Surrey, Somerset, Devon and Cornwall "for the better maintenance of his estate."[3] Richard had been in 1462 and 1463 invested with the estates of Lord Hungerford and the Duke of Somerset.[4] All those who had stood by his father were remembered, and there are constant grants of annuities for faithful servants of his.

[1] See Devon, "Issues," p. 487.
[2] Patent Rolls, Feb. 28th, 1462; May 10th, 1465.
[3] *Ibid.*, Sept. 4th; Nov. 8th, 1464.
[4] *Ibid.*, Sept. 9th, 1462; Dec. 20th, 1463.

Edward's private life.

But the King's private life had already become a cause of scandal. When not actually employed in the field or on Government business he early appears to have given himself up to jousts, revelry and feasting,[1] and other graver forms of self-indulgence. His principal friends seem to have been Lord Hastings, a man of lax morals, and Richard Fiennes, Lord Dacre.[2] His propensities became generally known, and "men marvelled that our sovereign lord was so long without any wife, and were ever feared that he had not been chaste of his living."[3] Various marriage projects had been mooted, and it was unfortunate that he was not wedded soon after his accession, to a suitable mate. But the difficulty of bringing any of the proposed alliances to a successful conclusion perhaps had weight in inducing Edward to a step that altered the whole character of his reign. There appears to have been some idea in his early years of marrying him to the Lady Elizabeth Talbot, daughter of the Earl of Shrewsbury, though the affair never went so far as a positive betrothal, which in those days would have had almost the binding force of a marriage ceremony. Nearly twenty years later actual betrothal was alleged, but in the meantime there had been numerous occasions when such a fact, if it existed, could and would have been used with fatal effect against him; that it was not so used is proof that the truth was otherwise.

The Woodvilles.

One of the first of the Lancastrian lords to make his peace with the victorious Yorkists was the Lord Rivers, whom we saw in strange circumstances at

[1] "Brief Latin Chronicle," p. 178.
[2] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 59.
[3] Gregory, p. 226.

Calais early in the year 1460. On December 11, 1461, there was an Issue of the Exchequer on his behalf and that of his wife, Jacquetta, widow of the late John, Duke of Bedford; and their eldest son Antony, Lord Scales, stood well in the King's favour.[1] Rivers and Jacquetta were by this time parents of a very large family of sons and daughters, of whom the eldest, Elizabeth Woodville, born probably about the year 1436,[2] had been a maid of honour to Queen Margaret, and was a lady of considerable beauty. About 1452 a certain Sir Hugh John, a friend of the Duke of York, had fallen in love with her. The Duke interceded with her on his behalf, telling of his passion "for the grete wommanhoode and gentillesse approved and knowen in your persone," and added "How it be of your disposcioun towards him in that bihalve as yet to us is unknowen."[3] His efforts were backed by the Earl of Warwick, who wrote that Sir Hugh John had told him of his (apparently unsuccessful) visit to her, and his love "as wele for the grete sadness and wisdome that he founde and proved in you at that tyme as for your grete and preised vertues and womanly demeanyng."[4] But Sir Hugh John's suit did not prosper and Elizabeth gave her hand to the young and wealthy Sir John Grey, by right Lord Ferrers of Groby, who fought and was slain for King Henry at the second battle of St. Albans, leaving two young sons as issue of the marriage. Elizabeth was high in Margaret's favour and became a lady of the bedchamber.

Elizabeth Woodville.

There is a story that she applied in person to

[1] Devon, "Issues," p. 468.

[2] So "Dict. Nat. Biography." Miss Stickland says 1431, which is too early. See "Lives of the Queens of England."

[3] "Archæologia," xxix, p. 132. [4] *Ibid.*

Meets King Edward.

King Edward for the restitution of the estates of her dead husband, on behalf of her two sons. This may have been during the three weeks that Edward spent at Northampton in July, 1463, though there is some reason to suppose that their acquaintance dates from an earlier time. The scene has been placed in Wychwood Forest, and Edward while hunting in the Forest is made to come upon the widow holding her children by the hand under a tree, in which romantic situation she made her plea. Be that as it may, it was granted, and the King, who had had "many pastimes of youthly course"[1] and found little difficulty in winning the hearts of those he favoured, when he saw her, "lovely looking and feminine smiling,"[2] made dishonourable proposals to her. Her repulse of his advances inflamed his fancy till it became an overmastering passion. We do not know whether Elizabeth, during the years from St. Albans to her marriage, lived always at Grafton, near Northampton, with her parents. But Edward was at Northampton again in January, 1464, and soon after this he must have made up his mind that he could not do without her, and would marry her and brave all consequences. He is said to have communicated his intentions to his mother, who pointed out the consequences of the proposed step—dwelling on the dishonour to his throne in marrying a subject, and setting before her son the certain anger of his people and friends, especially the Earl of Warwick. She objected to the proposed wife as a widow with children—to which the King replied by a jocular and libertine retort that he was a father, too.[3] She also

Efforts of the Duchess of York to dissuade him from marriage.

[1] Hearne's "Fragment," p. 292.
[2] Hall. [3] See Sir T. More, "Richard III," pp. 60-63.

used to dissuade him the alleged betrothal to Lady Elizabeth Talbot, and accused him of a precontract with one Elizabeth Lucy, whom he had seduced: and the King is said to have cleared himself from any legal or ecclesiastical irregularity with regard to either lady. But the story is improbable, and to allege a precontract in the case of Elizabeth Lucy would have been an extraordinary way of avoiding a marriage with one supposed unfit to be Queen. Probably his intentions were made known to no one except the mother and father of the bride.

Marriage of King Edward, May 1st, 1464.

On April 28th, as we have seen, Edward left London to join Warwick and Montagu in the North and suppress the Lancastrian invasion. On the 30th he was at Stony Stratford. The next morning he rode to Grafton Regis, five miles away and ten miles from Northampton, as if to hunt with Lord Rivers.[1] Then and there he was married to Elizabeth in the presence apparently "of her mother, the priest, two gentlemen and a young man to help the priest sing." After a few hours of his wife's company he returned to Northampton "in manner as if he had been hunting." He appears to have publicly visited Grafton more than once during the next four days, but he only met his wife in secret, and when he moved on to Leicester and the North on May 5th their relations were known to none except the witnesses of their marriage, or such anyhow as found it well to keep their counsel. It is probable that the King had weakly allowed Warwick to entertain other projects for him and now found himself committed to their utter stultification. To announce openly what he had done was more than he could bring himself to do until, perhaps, other

[1] See Fabyan, p. 654.

events and situations of themselves should have brought other proposals to nothing. Such weakness and perfidy were especially inexcusable in the case of one who had given him such service as the Earl of Warwick. The delay is incomprehensible. One chronicle mentions a rumour that Edward, immediately repenting of his hot passion, would have repudiated his wife if he could,[1] but there is no evidence for this. When the King saw her next after leaving Northampton in May we do not know. But he was not in that immediate neighbourhood again until after the marriage had been declared. After his visit to York he had returned to Leicester in July, and in August passed from Stamford and Fotheringay to Woodstock. He was then some time at Penley and Marlborough. In the last week of September he moved to Reading for a meeting of a Privy Council. There marriage was again proposed to him. "The Lords moved him, and exhorted him in God's name to be wedded and to live under the law of God and Church."[2] To this, according to one authority, the King, who had decided that he could no longer defer the necessary disclosure, answered that he was willing to marry "but that perchance his choice might not be to the liking of all present."[3] On mentioning "in right merry guise" the daughter of Lord Rivers as the object of his choice, the Council protested that she was not a fit match for him; "she was not the daughter of a duke or earl, but her mother, the Duchess of Bedford, had married a simple knight, so that though she was the child of a Duchess

Announcement of the marriage, September, 1464.

[1] Fabyan, p. 684.
[2] Gregory, p. 226.
[3] Wavrin. See Oman's "Warwick," p. 162.

and the niece of the Count of St. Pol, still she was no wife for him." Then the King told them that he was already married to her. The announcement was greeted almost with incredulity—indeed, when the news became known over the country it was considered so extraordinary that people could only suppose that the Duchess of Bedford had used witchcraft or love philtres to entrap the young King. But Edward gave no encouragement to any such fancies ; no indication of any desire to reverse what he had done, nor any appearance of regretting it. Warwick and the Council were very angry, but there was nothing to be done at the moment but to accept the fact and dissemble their anger at their never having been consulted. For Warwick it must have been a bitter blow. He saw that he had been wilfully deceived in all he had done since the previous May. It was a mortifying situation. Still, imprudent as he might think the match, it did not necessarily threaten his great position or that of the Neville family, though for the moment his prestige as the King's mentor was weakened. Edward, at the very time of the announcement of his wedding, promoted George Neville, the Chancellor, from the Bishopric of Exeter to the Archbishopric of York, vacant by the death of William Booth, though this may have been an effort to detach the Chancellor from his brother ; John Neville, now Earl of Northumberland, was Edward's personal friend in a sense that Warwick never was, and this appointment might ensure the loyalty of the North of England. Be that as it may, Warwick, for the time being, accepted the situation with good grace.

Effect of the announcement.

On St. Michael's Day the King introduced his wife

publicly to Court. She was led into the Chapel of the Abbey by the Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick, and acknowledged as Queen by all present.

The marriage a turning point in Edward's reign and character.

The marriage of Edward to Elizabeth was a turning point in the story of his character and the history of his reign. The Queen seems to have been a person of a cool calculating decision of character, without deep affection, but of steady dislikes and revengeful disposition. She retained a lasting power over the mind of her husband and was able to influence him to her will without publicly appearing in political affairs. She was to bear him a large family: but she soon lost her sole dominion of his fancy, and seems to have accepted the situation without much difficulty. She showed some ability in the way in which she forwarded the interests of her family. But her influence on her husband in the long run was bad. She brought nothing of value into public and Court life, no new element of refinement, purity, gentleness or mercy.

New policy necessitated by the marriage.

By the representatives of the old nobility the marriage was considered totally unworthy of the King. Nor was it hailed with pleasure by any class of the community. The distinguishing characteristic of the new Queen was her devotion to her brothers and sisters and the grasping haste with which she pushed their fortunes. The King must soon have realised that his position in the country, especially with the powerful group of nobles who had supported him and his father, was seriously weakened by his choice of a Queen; and he acceded to her desire for the advancement of her family the more readily in that he saw the necessity of creating a body of

nobles destitute of territorial and semi-feudal authority, a body of supporters who owed their fortunes to him, whose unpopularity with the rest of the Peerage would make it necessary for them to hold by him. Almost immediately after the announcement of his own marriage he consented to the betrothal of the Queen's next sister, Margaret, to Lord Maltravers, son and heir of the Earl of Arundel. Catherine, Duchess of Norfolk, a sister of the King's own mother, was given as wife to John Woodville, whose age (only twenty years) was in grotesque contrast with that of his wife, grandmother of the then Duke.[1] To anticipate somewhat, in 1466, at the christening of the King's eldest child, Elizabeth, three more sisters of the Queen, Catherine, Anne and Eleanor Woodville were married respectively to the Duke of Buckingham, grandson of the Duke who was slain at Northampton; Viscount Bourchier, son of the Earl of Essex; and Antony Grey de Ruthyn, son of the deserter from the Lancastrian ranks at Northampton, who on the death of the King's uncle, the former Lord Fauconberge, had been made Earl of Kent.[2] Lord Rivers had by then been raised to the dignity of an Earl; his eldest son was already Lord Scales. Subsequently other sisters of the Queen were married; Jacquetta to Lord Strange of Knockyn; Mary Woodville to the son and heir of Lord Herbert.

Effects of the new policy.

These marriages are evidence not only of the rapacity of the Queen, but of the thoroughness with which Edward adopted his new policy. A family group which in size and wealth could rival that of the

[1] William of Worcester, p. 78.
[2] Ramsay, ii, pp. 320-2.

Nevilles in their greatest days was thus created, and the adherence of the men of the coming generation, such as the Duke of Buckingham, rightly seemed to the King of great importance. And yet, as time was to show, there was to be serious disunion in the group, and the King needed all his strength to keep the discordant elements of his Court from open rupture. Nothing could make the Woodvilles acceptable. Edward's own most faithful friends, such as Lord Hastings, shared the popular detestation of them, and unquestionably Edward's policy with regard to them lost his son his throne and his life. With the exception of Antony, Lord Scales, none of the males of the house showed ability or proved a source of strength to the King—and even his talents were literary rather than political or military: indeed, Edward complained that he always wanted to go away when he had most need of him.[1]

Coronation of Elizabeth, May 26th, 1465.

To resume the thread of the story. After the Council at Reading the King does not appear to have brought his Queen to the Capital, though he was at a Council at Westminster in December, when an income of 4,000 marks was settled on the Queen; and he spent Christmas at Eltham.[2] Her Coronation was fixed for Sunday, May 26th, of the following year. In order that the Queen's maternal family should be represented Edward had asked her uncle, James of Luxemburg, to be present at the Coronation, and he had come with a brilliant suite of knights and gentlemen to the number of a hundred. On May 24th the Mayor and Aldermen went out to Shooter's Hill to meet Elizabeth and escort her over London Bridge

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 106.
[2] William of Worcester, pp. 784-5.

to the Tower. On the 25th she was conducted in an open horse-litter to Westminster, the Londoners thronging the streets to see their new Queen. Next day, Sunday, June 26th, she was crowned. The festivities were marked by the creation of thirty-eight Knights of the Bath, who included among their number not only the Mayor himself, but four other aldermen, a step significant of the King's wish to please and ally with him the merchants of the capital. Jousts were held in the Queen's honour in which Lord Stanley distinguished himself.[1]

Foreign affairs.

Meanwhile events had taken place abroad which showed that King Louis had not overrated the internal and external dangers which threatened his throne, and showed, too, that he had not yet perfected himself in the subtle statesmanship which he afterwards displayed. The unscrupulous means he employed to prevent an alliance between Burgundy and Brittany, and other lawless acts, raised against him the combination known as the League of the Public Weal, which for a time checked his centralising policy.

Strong position of England.

The failure of King Louis meant the strengthening of the position of England. Courted by all parties in France, King Edward could consider his policy without any immediate necessity of decision. A treaty of friendship with Denmark, negotiations with Castile and truces with Brittany evidenced the respect with which England was regarded on the Continent.[2]

Relations with Scotland.

The truce of December, 1643, with Scotland had been extended in June, 1464, for fifteen years.[3] King Edward favoured trade and intercourse between the two countries and encouraged Scots by letters

[1] William of Worcester, pp. 784-5.
[2] Rymer, xi, pp. 543, 551. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 525.

of denization to settle in England.[1] Spies were kept constantly passing to and from Scotland, and for the next ten years pensions were regularly paid to the Bishops of Aberdeen and St. Andrews, Lords Boyd and Duncan of Dundas and others, by the English King.[2] Indeed, patriotism seemed everywhere at a low ebb. It is clear that Edward shared the opinion of the contemporary chronicler concerning the Scots, "that it is hard to trust them, for they are ever found full of guile and deceit,"[3] and determined to keep affairs in his hands and ensure his policy not only by official diplomacy, but also by the more effective means of attaching to himself the individual interests of those whose influence might make them formidable. The Earl of Douglas was still retained as useful, but the Lord of the Isles, who had failed to make a successful diversion in Scotland, was dropped and allowed to make his peace with his King as best he might. Throughout 1465 there were exchanges of embassies, the Earl of Northumberland and Lords Lumley and Ogle meeting the Scottish representatives to try and negotiate a marriage between the young King James and an English subject.[4] At the end of the year a special commission, headed by the Archbishop of York, with Warwick and Northumberland, met the Scottish ambassadors with the result that the truce of June, 1464, was prolonged until October, 1519.[5]

These various agreements and negotiations with other countries show that Edward was learning his

[1] "Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland," Introd., Vol. IV, p. xxxv.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Gregory, p. 222.
[4] Rymer, xi, p. 546.
[5] *Ibid.*, 549, pp. 556-7.

own mind and finding a definite policy for a definite object, which was to appear before long. How far Warwick was in his confidence it is hard to say: probably he was unwillingly carrying out his master's orders and trying at the same time to influence events in the direction of the foreign policy he desired.

The alteration of the currency.

In domestic affairs Edward had taken steps which diminished his already diminishing popularity. He had begun in 1464 an alteration of the currency.[1] The removal of the heads of the Lancastrians, a perpetual reminder of their former kings, from the old coins may have been one reason which induced the King to give to his subjects, instead, his own image and superscription;[2] but he also looked for a far more substantial advantage. All holders of old coin had to bring in their money to be re-minted. A charge was made for the operation, and as the currency was debased in the case of the penny, the groat, and the noble, a substantial sum was realised on behalf of the Crown. But besides the actual loss which these arrangements inflicted on the possessors of old money there was the annoyance of unfamiliarity. People found the new coins hard to reckon, and did not like to receive them. "A man might go through a whole street or a whole parish before getting one changed."[3]

Parliament in 1465.

Parliament, which had been adjourned on February 20th, 1464, on account of the King's punitory visit to Gloucester, and again on May 5th and November 26th, met at Westminster on January 21st, 1465. The Customs duties were granted to the King for life. Another Resumption Act was passed, showing the

[1] Warkworth, "Chronicles of the White Rose," p. 107.
[2] See Ramsay, ii, pp. 312-13.
[3] Gregory, p. 223.

continuance of alienation of Crown estates in spite of the large forfeitures of Lancastrian property which had been at the disposal of the Crown. An immense number of exceptions were made on behalf of public bodies and private individuals, connections, friends and adherents of the Royal family or those with influence at Court. The Duke of Somerset, Sir Ralph Percy and others, living and dead, who had been concerned in the Lancastrian risings in the north, were attainted.[1]

There was statutory regulation of the cloth-making industry as in the former session, but there was no legislation of any universal or lasting importance. The imports of English cloths into Burgundy had been prohibited, and Parliament retaliated by forbidding the import of Burgundian goods until the prohibition should be removed.[2]

The "Mendicant" controversy.

During this year London was much agitated by one of the barren theological controversies which afflicted the Church in its decadence. A Carmelite friar preached at Paul's Cross against the beneficed clergy, and pointed his remarks by showing that our Lord had supported himself in his earthly ministry by "begging."[3] Controversy waxed hot on the subject, and the friars, giving injudicious emphasis to their contention, were cited for heresy. After a time the King took part in the affair, and wrote to the Pope to ask him to chastise the breakers of the peace, with the result that the Provincial of the Friars, found guilty in nine points of heresy, was confined in the Castle of St. Angelo, where he remained, unknown to his friends in England who daily expected him home.

[1] "Rot. Parl.," v, p. 511, *seq.*
[2] Jan. 21st, 1465.
[3] See Gregory, pp. 223 and *seq.*

Feeling on behalf of Henry VI.

On May 16th, 1465, the Sheriff of Nottingham reported that one John Michell accused Thomas Skrymshire of replying, when asked if he was going north with the King: "Nay, his money should go, but he would not go himself, and it was nought that they went about, for the King was not king, but that he was made King by the Kentishmen, and the very right king and the Prince were in Scotland."[1]

The sturdy inability of Thomas Skrymshire to recognise any other as King while Henry was alive must have been shared by many others. It was, therefore, a relief to the King when the ex-king's long hiding came to an end and he was safely in his power. "A Black Monk of Abingdon," named William Cantlow, gave information in July, 1465, that Henry, whose whereabouts had not been known for many months, was at Waddington Hall, near Clitheroe. He had been in the neighbourhood some time, after residing under the protection of loyal friends in the Lake District. He was given up by his hosts, Sir John Tempest, of Bracewell, and Sir Thomas and John Talbot of Salesbury, in the parish of Blackburn, to a party who arrived to take him, while he sat at dinner;[2] and was brought to London on horseback, his feet tied to the stirrups. The Earl of Warwick conducted his former King, whom he had preceded before on very different occasions and was to precede again under still stranger circumstances, by Newgate Street and Cheapside to the Tower. The capture was of great importance, for while Henry was alive and in

His capture.

[1] "Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland." Vol. IV, under that date.

[2] See Notes to Warkworth, Camden Society; and Ramsay, ii, pp. 316-7.

safe custody there would be less danger of Lancastrian plots. In case of his death, men's minds might be attracted by the figure of his blameless heir. But a return to the rule of Henry and Margaret was not a prospect likely to win many adherents.

By the end of the year King Edward's position seemed to have distinctly improved. But there had already been heard the first murmurs of the storm that was to break up all this apparent calm. The Earl of Warwick "took to him in fee as many knights, squires and gentlemen as he might, to be stronge: and King Edward did that he might to feeble the Earl's power. And yet they were accorded divers times, but they never loved together after"[1] Edward's marriage. The absence of the King and Queen from the enthronisation of George Neville in September as Archbishop of York was remarked.[2] The Chancellor made the occasion remarkable by a feast of Gargantuan proportions, and his friends and Neville relations were present in force.

Birth of the Princess Elizabeth, Feb. 11th, 1466.

The King had spent part of the preceding autumn away from London, but he was at Westminster in February, 1466. On the 11th of that month his eldest child by the Queen, Elizabeth, was born.[3]

[1] Warkworth, "Chronicles of the White Rose," p. 106.

[2] William of Worcester, p. 475.

[3] An amusing story is told by one of the chroniclers of the King's anxiety for a son. "Ye kynge was assured of his physicians that the Quene was conceyved with a prynce; and specially of one named Maister Domynyk, by whose counsayll great provysion was ordeyned for cristening of the sayde prynce. Wherfore it was after tolde that this Maister Domynyk, to ye entente to have great thanke and rewarde of ye kynge, he stoode in the second chamber where ye Quene travayled that he myght be the firste that shulde brynge tydynges to the kynge of the byrthe of the prynce; and

Causes of the breach with Warwick.

Now began the second series of those marriages, already referred to, for the benefit of the Woodvilles which so materially altered the character of the Court and the status of the English Peerage. Of these, that of the Duke of Buckingham and of the son and heir of Lord Herbert, who was made Lord Dunster, gave particular offence to the Earl of Warwick.[1] He may have intended the first for one of his own daughters; while to the estates and title of Lord Mohun of Dunster, he had a claim as heir of the Earldom of Salisbury. Worse was to come. Warwick had no son, and he looked upon George Neville, son of his brother, John, Earl of Northumberland, as the heir of his house. He had in view as a prospective bride for the boy the Lady Anna Holland, daughter of the Duke of Exeter and the Duchess, the King's eldest sister. The Queen, insatiable on behalf of her relations, coveted the heiress for her brother, Thomas Woodville, and is said to have given the Duchess 4,000 marks to induce her to favour his suit rather than the overtures of Warwick on behalf of his nephew.[2]

In March the King in Privy Council dismissed Lord Mountjoy, who, as Sir Walter Blount, was one of Warwick's lieutenants at Calais, from the treasurership, and appointed in his stead the father of the

lastly when he harde the childe crye, he knocked or called secretly at ye chamber dore, and frayned what the Quene had. To whom it was answeryd by one of the ladeyes, 'whatsoever the Quene's grace hath here wythyn, suer it is that a fole standithe there without,' and so confusyd with thys answere, he departed without seynge of the kynge for that tyme."—Fabyan, p. 655.

[1] See Ramsay, ii, p. 321. Notes 5 and 6.

[2] William of Worcester, p. 706.

Queen. Lord Rivers, in spite of his early reconciliation with the Yorkists, had never been freely accepted by the nobles of that party. He had lain somewhat aloof from political affairs until the King's marriage to his daughter brought him into odious prominence. His early history—his marriage of the widow of John of Bedford, and his Lancastrianism were never forgotten. Not only Warwick but many of the magnates of the realm felt this new honour for Rivers an insult to those whose faithfulness to the King's party had never been questioned. With these various causes of offence some open explosion on the part of the Earl seemed inevitable. But it was in foreign affairs that his differences with the King were most important and most acute. The choice between France and Burgundy was to lead to the open breach between King-maker and King.

CHAPTER VII

EDWARD AND WARWICK—THE FIRST STAGE

Foreign policy. The question of alliance with Burgundy.

It is probable that by this time Edward had formed in his mind a definite idea of the relative advantages of friendship with France and Burgundy. Under a vigorous ruler such as Charles of Charolais seemed to promise to be, the future of Burgundy appeared a bright one. By becoming a compact middle-kingdom between France and the Empire it might form a permanent check on the ambitions of France, and, in alliance with England, hold the balance of power on the Continent. For this reason and on account of trading relations Edward inclined to an alliance. In March, 1466, the Earl of Warwick and others had been commissioned[1] by the English King to treat for a lasting peace and full commercial intercourse with Duke Philip. Isabella of Bourbon, the wife of the Count of Charolais, had died in the previous year, and Charles had made proposals for the hand of Margaret, sister of the King of England. This match was to be discussed by the English ambassadors, and another was to be proposed, between Mary, only daughter of Charolais, and George, Duke of Clarence. That Warwick undertook an embassy concerning such proposals shows that he was not yet committed to France. But Louis knew that he was a dissatisfied and disappointed man. To work through him to Edward or to exalt his power against his King, were

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 562.

the alternatives that lay before him. The negotiations with Burgundy, however, produced nothing decisive. With France, for which country the English ambassadors were also commissioned, though no lasting arrangement was reached, the truce was confirmed until March, 1467[1]; while a truce was made with Brittany lasting till July 10th, 1467.[2] So by the middle of 1466 England was on friendly relations with Burgundy, France and Brittany.

Truce with France continues.

Warwick and Clarence.

Warwick came back to London still hoping that he might carry his policy of a French rather than a Burgundian alliance. A reason for the Earl's dislike of one of the proposals he had had to make at the Burgundian Court became apparent about the time of his return. The Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, aged now about eighteen and fifteen respectively, paid a visit to him in the autumn. In consequence of certain information which he had received the King sent for them on their return and asked why they had left London and by whose advice they had visited the Earl; to which they replied that "none had been the cause save they themselves."[3] But the King knew that one object of Warwick's in inviting them had been to further a marriage scheme of his own. His daughters, Isabel and Anne, were growing to marriageable age; and as a husband for the elder he had bethought him of the Duke of Clarence. Isabel was a great heiress and her father might well look high for her: she was worthy even of the King's brother. Clarence himself seems to have entertained an affection for his cousin, and to have listened to the proposal from the

[1] Rymer, xi, pp. 568-7.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Wavrin, p. 458. See Oman's "Warwick," p. 169.

first with favour. But the King had other views. He saw plainly enough the growing estrangement of the Earl, and though he did nothing openly to increase it he knew that their differing policies would pull them further and further apart.

Edward's view of the proposed marriage.

In such circumstances he had no idea of Warwick's receiving the added prestige and strength that such a marriage would bring to him. Clarence had already large estates, and showed symptoms of restlessness and independence. An alliance such as that in contemplation would detach him completely from his brother's side and make him very dangerous when the time should come for a trial of strength between the King and the Earl. Moreover, Edward wished his brother to consolidate by a marriage the friendship with Burgundy, which at the end of October had moved a step nearer to definite alliance by the arrival in London of Louis de Bruges and eight other ambassadors from Philip, who arranged a private understanding between the King and the Count of Charolais, deferring other details till the following spring when a fresh embassy was to arrive.[1]

For these reasons Edward regarded the caballing of his brothers with the Earl of Warwick with angry suspicion. To the direct question as to whether there had been any talk of marriage with their Neville cousins the Princes replied "No." Clarence, however, ventured to add "that it would not be a bad match." The King was very angry and is said to have put his brothers for a time in confinement.

Warwick and Louis XI.

The intelligence of these events when it reached the Earl contributed further to break down any sentiments of loyalty to his King which he still entertained.

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 573.

But as yet he does not appear to have entertained any really treacherous designs. As a man and a statesman his plans were hampered by the King; but in the matter of the French alliance he used at first, openly at any rate, the methods of legitimate agitation. He and his friends spoke of the damage to English commerce from the constant uncertainty of the relations with France.[1] The King, affecting to be convinced, on May 6th, 1467, gave him his commission to the King of France, with powers to treat for an extension of the truce or a lasting peace.[2] On June 7th the Earl arrived at Rouen, where he was received with Royal honours by King Louis. For days he remained closeted with him, and doubtless during this time something more than the immediate business in hand was discussed, and Louis used every means to make the Earl wholly his.

Arrival in England of the Bastard of Burgundy.

Meanwhile in England the King had moved in the direction of a policy entirely contrary to that with which Warwick had been entrusted. On May 28th there arrived at Gravesend an important visitor from the Burgundian Court in the person of Antony, a natural brother of the Count of Charolais, commonly known as the Bastard of Burgundy. The primary object of his mission had been unpolitical; the Bastard was a notable and valiant knight, and his chivalrous exploits had made him famous in the Court of England.[3] On April 17th, 1465, Lord Scales, the Queen's eldest brother, had been presented at Sheen with a chivalric emblem by the ladies of the Court, which he understood to pledge him to the performance

[1] Wavrin-Dupont, ii, pp. 334 *et seq.*
[2] Rymer, xi, p. 565.
[3] For full details of the affair see "Excerpta Historica," p. 171.

of some deed of arms. With the King's consent he wrote and despatched a challenge to the Bastard of Burgundy, who had himself proposed a meeting some time before.

The Bastard accepted the challenge, but an expedition against the Turks, the siege of Dinant, and other affairs delayed his coming for two years. At last, in May, 1467, with four hundred knights and squires and much shipping as a protection against the French ships, which were cruising piratically in the Channel, Antony set out. On June 2nd Edward came up from Sheen, being met two miles out of London by a great company of nobles and gentlemen, the knights of the four Orders, and ecclesiastical dignitaries. With the Constable on his right and the Marshall on his left Edward went in procession to St. Paul's, where he offered at the High Altar; then by Fleet Street the party rode to Westminster. Preparations on a most extensive scale were made in Smithfield for the Tournament. Pavilions were erected for the Royal party and the Mayor and Aldermen, and the timber and workmanship of the lists, "120 tailors' yards long, 90 foot broad, 70 foot double barred," cost no less than 200 marks.[1] On June 10th the combat took place. A Burgundian writer who was present describes the scene with great animation. The King was present, clad in purple, the Garter on his leg, and "certainly he seemed a personage worthy to be King, for he was a handsome prince, tall and well mannered." Round him sat twenty or twenty-five "ancient councillors, white-haired like senators."[2] The combatants were announced in due form. According to the articles agreed upon they fought first on horse,

The Tournament at Smithfield, June 10th, 1467.

[1] "Archæologia," xxix, p. 135. [2] O. de la Marche, p. 54.

armed each at his own pleasure. A mishap at once occurred, the horse of the Bastard running on to a peaked point on the saddle of Lord Scales' steed and rearing so much as to throw its rider to the ground. "The Lord Scales rode round about him with his sword shaking in his hand, till the King commanded the Marshal to help up the Bastard, which openly said 'I cannot hold by the clouds, but though my horse failed me, surely I will not fail my counter companions'; but the King decided that they should not meet again that day. The next morning they fought with axes, when the point of Scales's axe got caught in the vizor of his opponent's helmet. The King cast down his warder and ordered them to be severed. The Bastard not content with this chance, very desirous to be avenged, trusting on his winning with the poleaxe, required the king of justice, that he might perform his enterprise." But after consultation with the masters of the lists Edward delivered judgment that, if they fought again, they must begin with Scales's axe fixed as it was when he had stopped them; whereupon the Bastard "was content to relinquish his challenge."[1] The King was anxious that his guest should suffer no dishonour, and the tournament was brought to an end by encounters between three followers of the Bastard's and three English representatives, in which "the Englishmen had the worship."[2] In the evening the King entertained the company at a great supper in the Mercers' Hall, where there were sixty or eighty ladies present, "the least being the daughter of a Baron."[3]

[1] Hall. See "Chronicles of the White Rose," p. 19.
[2] Vitellius, A., xvi, p. 179.
[3] O. de la Marche, as above.

Meanwhile the proposed marriage of Margaret was discussed, and it was arranged that Edward should send an embassy to Burgundy to arrange details and a treaty of commerce,

Edward opens Parliament June 3rd, 1467.

On June 3rd the King opened a new Parliament at Westminster. He addressed the Commons in terms which show an anxiety to remove the discontent, which has been referred to, as to money matters. "John Say, and ye Sirs, comyn to this my Court of Parliament for the Common of this my Lond. The cause why I have called and summoned this my present Parliament is that I propose to live upon my nowne and not to charge my subjettes but in great and urgent causes, concerning more the wele of themselves and also the defence of them and of this my realm, rather than my nowne pleasir, as heretofore by Commons of this Lond. hath been doon and born unto my Progenitours in tyme of need; wherein I trust that ye Sirs, and all the Common of this my Lond. woll be as tender and kynde unto me in suche cases as heretofore any Commons have been to any of my said Progenitours, and for the good willes, kindness and true hearts that ye have born, contained, and shewed unto me at all times heretofore, I thank you as heartily as I can, as so I trust ye will continue in time coming; for the which by the grace of God I shall be to you as good and gracious King, and reign as right-wisely uppon you as ever did any of my Progenitours upon Commons of this my Reame in days past; and shall also in time of need apply my person for the well and defence of you and of this my realm, not sparing my body nor life for any jeoparde that mouht happen to the same."[1]

[1] "Rot. Parl.," v, p. 572.

This was an obvious bid for a return of his waning popularity. He was preparing for a fight with the faction which hampered him. It has been pointed out that a little later occur entries on the rolls which show that the Sheriffs were allowed to retain considerable sums of money for secret service, "the sums running from £40 to £300."[1] Indeed, he had just taken a step which seemed likely to precipitate the conflict. The Chancellor, George Neville, was not present at the opening of Parliament, pleading sickness as excuse for his absence. But the real reason was thought to be a desire to keep away from the Burgundian envoys, from fear of compromising himself in decisions adverse to his brother's policy. The King at once took action. On June 8th he visited the Chancellor's lodgings in company with Lord Herbert and others and took away the Great Seal.[2] This was not, as has been supposed, in consequence of the suspiciously friendly greeting of the Earl by King Louis—for Warwick had on June 8th only just reached Rouen. Either Edward was guilty of blacker treachery even than that with which he is usually credited, or, as seems more likely, he had in the meantime received information which showed him that he must remove from such high office a man who was not prepared loyally to carry out his wishes. For the present there was nothing contemplated personally hostile to Warwick, for in the Resumption Act which the King's financial position made necessary, the Earl's interests were safeguarded by the words "provided" it "be not prejudiciall to Richard, Earl of Warwick." But the Earl was

Deprives George Neville of the Chancellorship.

[1] See Ramsay, ii, p. 326, note 3.
[2] William of Worcester, p. 787.

not one to reckon his public and private capacities apart.

Warwick arrives with a French embassy.

The Bastard of Burgundy and his suite had made a hasty departure on receiving the fateful news of the death of Duke Philip of Burgundy on June 15th. With the accession of Charles the cause of those interested in a French alliance became urgent. On July 1st Warwick landed with a splendid embassy from the French King. Arrived in London the King gave him an audience, when the Earl described his entertainment by Louis, dwelling on the great honour with which he had been received.[1] Already Edward had been irritated by the magnificence of his envoy, and he did not conceal from Warwick that the subject was distasteful to him. Next day he received the embassy. Offers of prodigal liberality were made on behalf of the French King. He would put Edward's claims to Normandy and Acquitaine to the arbitration of the Pope, to be decided within four years, during which Edward should receive an annual gift of 4,000 marks, if only he would help the French against Burgundy.[2] The King "showed himself a prince of haughty bearing." The presence at the interview of Rivers, Scales and Hastings augured ill for the success of the negotiations. Edward said he would appoint certain Lords with whom they might confer, but his manner was such as to indicate that he had no intention of acceding to their request. He spoke of other business to which he must attend, and the meeting was at once broken up. The King went off to Windsor to avoid seeing the embassy again, leaving Warwick furious at the treachery with which

[1] Wavrin. See Oman's "Warwick," pp. 172-3.
[2] "Foedera," xi, p. 580. William of Worcester, pp. 787-8.

he had been treated. He spoke openly to the Frenchmen of the traitors about the King's person; there was talk of future vengeance. The dismissal of his brother from the Chancellorship and the unceremonious disregard of his efforts for a French alliance showed him that his power over the King had gone for ever. He found one sympathiser in the Duke of Clarence; their common hatred of the Woodvilles, and the King's refusal to allow the marriage with Isabel Neville were sufficient to bring them together, and from this time on they began to entertain the designs which later took shape in armed insurrection against the King.

The embassy lingered fruitlessly for a month in London. Edward returned to town to bid them good-bye, sending them away after the custom of the time with gifts; but the "mastiffs, collars, leashes and horns" which he sent were the subject of ridicule to the French. He had not yet, however, as we shall see, made up his mind to an active anti-French policy, though sooner or later the friendship with Burgundy must imply hostility to France.

In August a second daughter, Mary, was born to Edward and Elizabeth at Windsor. The King spent part of September at Dogmersfield in Hampshire, but returned to London in time for a meeting of the Council at Kingston on October 1st to obtain the formal consent of Margaret to the marriage with the new Duke of Burgundy.

Irritation of King Louis.

The news of Warwick's failure was received with much irritation by King Louis, hampered as he was by domestic discontent and especially the rebellion of his brother Charles, Duke of Berri. But he had generally more than one plan in his head. Since

Edward was determined to isolate France and ally with her rebellious feudatories, it seemed certain that before long he would go further and justify his policy to his subjects by reviving English claims in France and by an active effort to assert them. For Louis there remained the Lancastrians. Rumours were about that they were again moving. In Wales the party of Henry VI were encouraged by messages from Queen Margaret. The Earl of Warwick was not present at Kingston on October 1st, 1467, when Margaret's betrothal was ratified, but retired to his estates, where the Duke of Clarence visited him, and the King became aware that the marriage project was being pressed forward. As George and Isabel were within the prohibited degrees of relationship a dispensation from the Pope was necessary, and Edward is reported to have sent to his Holiness to prevent it being granted.[1]

Open discontent of Warwick.

Before long the King had occasion to examine Warwick on a charge of treasonable correspondence with Queen Margaret. A man was taken in Wales, towards the close of the year, bearing letters from her to the Lancastrians in Harlech Castle, and Warwick among others appeared to be implicated. He was summoned to answer the charge, but as he refused to come so long as his enemies, Herbert, Scales and others, were with the King, Edward despatched a commission to examine him at Middleham. The charge proved to be unsubstantial. It is clear, however, that matters had reached a critical stage. Early in January, 1468, Warwick in the North was consulting with the Earl

[1] William of Worcester (p. 787) for this and subsequent incidents of the year.

of Northumberland and other friends of the Scottish Marches, and was said to have declared that if the King came further North they would defend themselves. It seemed at last as if the moment had arrived when the question of master or man would be fought out.

A French envoy in London, Dec.-Jan., 1467-68.

A French envoy, Sir William Monypenny, had landed just before Christmas.[1] He found, according to his own account, that London was strongly in favour of Warwick's policy of a French alliance, and that Lord Wenlock and others of Warwick's "council" were then working on his behalf. After telling them of the situation of his master, the envoy went on to Coventry, where the King lay. The Chamberlain, Lord Scales, and five or six others were present when Edward received the ambassador. In answer to the King's enquiries Monypenny replied that Louis was well; his nobles were remaining faithful to him, and he was well provided with men-at-arms. The King then asked if Monypenny had letters for him, and was answered in the negative. "Had he any for the Earl of Warwick?" "Yes." "Did he know what they contained?" "Only that Louis was surprised at receiving no answer to his embassy, in spite of Warwick's promises." The King then said that he intended to send an embassy, and swore, "by God's mercy, an oath which is customary with him," to help Louis against his rebellious brother, who he knew was only a fool whom the nobles wish to get hold of in order to rule the kingdom at their pleasure. Monypenny writing to King Louis informed him that Edward, who had been in correspondence with some of the discontented nobles of France, was not sure of

[1] See Monypenny's Letter, Wavrin-Dupont, p. 186.

them and their promises. The Burgundian match required a dispensation from the Pope, and the ambassador advised his master to try to hinder its granting; England would be indignant at the long delay and would think the Duke of Burgundy was insincere in his efforts to obtain it. If the marriage did not take place "every woman and child" would be against Burgundy.

Meanwhile the Duke of Brittany was making advances of a very definite kind to the King of England, offering to place in Edward's hands fourteen or fifteen towns in Normandy in return for help against the King of France.

Anti-Woodville movements in England.

Monypenny also told his master of movements in England of the utmost significance in view of after developments. About New Year's Day a band of men had raided the Kentish estate of Earl Rivers, killing his deer and breaking down his fences, and would have pillaged his house if the valuables had not been removed in time. In South Yorkshire three hundred archers, under a captain whom we must identify with that enigmatical personage, Robin of Redesdale, had sent to Warwick to know if it was time to be stirring—as they and their neighbours were ready. But he had told them to go back home and keep quiet until he gave the word for a rising. There seemed, indeed, every justification for the precaution which the King had taken in the preceding autumn, of enlisting 200 archers at a wage of 8d. a day, as a bodyguard to accompany him wherever he went. The Duke of Clarence had again shown his factious spirit: in November there had been a disturbance near Derby in which one of the Vernons of Haddon was killed. The King sent down to enquire into the

matter. The parties concerned seem to have been Lord Grey of Codnor and the Earl of Shrewsbury, and the King inclined to support the former: but Clarence had thrown his influence on the side of Shrewsbury. Nevertheless he was with the King for six days at Coventry for Christmas, though he was probably intriguing against him at the time.

But neither Warwick nor he were strong enough yet to proceed to extremities; nor was the King unwilling for a reconciliation. Indeed, throughout he showed no personal feeling against these most difficult subjects, and really appears to have merely wished to govern in his own way and to employ his old adviser to carry out his wishes. It was Warwick who could not bring himself to recognise that he must acquiesce in Edward's policy; the over-mighty subject could not reconcile himself to the loss of political power and be content to take up the position Edward would have assigned to him. Nevertheless he was induced to visit the Court at Coventry, and was there formally reconciled to the King and others of those he considered his enemies—Lords Herbert, Stafford of Southwick, and Audley. Apparently it was then that the King, to mark the occasion, promised to restore to the Archbishop of York, who arranged the reconciliation, the manors of Penley and Widstone, of which he had been deprived by the Resumption Act of the previous year.[1]

Formal reconciliation with Warwick, Epiphany, 1468.

Foreign alliances of Edward in 1468.

The understanding arrived at left Edward free to prosecute his own foreign policy. A definite alliance was at last made with Burgundy, with mutual promises to assist each other against all enemies. An alliance, friendship and confederacy with Brittany

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 640.

immediately followed, and Edward promised the Duke help against the French King.[1] Later in the year the King of Aragon renewed his ancient treaties with England.[2] Envoys from the Emperor, Frederick IV, the King of Naples and Duke Borso of Ferrara were also entertained.[3] The truce with France ran out on March 1st, and we find that Edward took precautions against any attempts at invasion.[4] Beacons and watches were set in the Southern counties. All this could only mean one thing, and on May 17th the King attended the newly reopened Parliament in person and announced his intentions. He had determined to go over sea and win back his ancient rights in France.

Edward announces his intention to invade France.

The reconciliation with Warwick had freed his hands and he had worked steadily since then to bring about the situation he desired.

On June 18th the Lady Margaret set out for Burgundy for her marriage with Duke Charles. She rode through London, and Warwick, amongst other Lords and ladies, rode with her, either greatly dissembling or temporarily determined to recognise his defeat. The night was spent with the King and Queen at Stratford Abbey, whence Margaret proceeded to pay a visit to the Shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. The King busied himself about the arrangements for her shipping, and on the 24th was present with his brothers and the Earls of Warwick, Northumberland and Shrewsbury to take leave of her at Margate.[5]

Departure to Burgundy of Margaret of York.

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 591.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 631.
[3] Gregory, p. 235.
[4] See Reports of the Royal Comm. on Hist. Docs. Report 5.
[5] "Excerpta Historica," 223.

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From this moment nothing seemed to go well with the King. The various forces of discontent began to gain coherence and courage, and the record of the next two years is one of plot and counterplot, insurrection and repression, treachery, misfortune and open war.

CHAPTER VIII

EDWARD AND WARWICK—THE SECOND STAGE

Renewed activity of the Lancastrians in 1468-69.

SINCE their defeats at Hedgeley Moor and Hexham, and the executions that followed them, the Lancastrians had remained very quiet. Only a few of their leaders were left. But the growing estrangement of the King and the Earl of Warwick suggested new possibilities. There were rumours that the King of France, after his rebuff by Edward, thought of giving one of his daughters as a bride for Edward, Prince of Wales. However this may have been, there is no doubt that so shrewd a man as King Louis would soon recognise how valuable an asset he had in the rival dynasty and its supporters in England and on the Continent. In June, 1468, the Lancastrian danger suddenly made its appearance in England. A man was taken at Queenborough bearing letters from a Lancastrian exile to friends in London. He was brought before the King at Stratford and taken thence to the Tower, where, under torture, he accused several prominent Londoners of complicity in correspondence with Queen Margaret.[1] One of these, a man named Hawkins, a servant of Lord Wenlock, in turn accused, among others, Sir Thomas Plummer and Sir Thomas Cooke, Aldermen of London, the latter a prominent personage in London and trusted by the King. He was at once arrested.[2] It seems that

[1] Gregory, p. 233, *seq.*

[2] Vitellius, A., xvi, p. 179; Gregory; Fabyan, p. 656; Holinshed, p. 287.

Hawkins had tried to borrow 1,000 marks of him on behalf of Queen Margaret, but it was afterwards shown that when Cooke discovered for whom the money was meant he refused to lend even £100. The King's sister, Margaret, on the point of setting out for Burgundy, went bail for the Alderman; possibly the Roger Cooke, whom we find later to have been a servant of hers,[1] was a relative of the Alderman. But no sooner had she left England than he was again arrested. He was with others brought to the Guildhall, where Warwick and Clarence sat among the Justices. The Chief Justice, Sir John Markham, a most just and impartial lawyer, presided at the trial. In spite of the efforts of the Crown to secure a conviction on the capital charge, Cooke was only found guilty of misprision of treason. Hawkins, who accused his master, Lord Wenlock, was executed. The after record of this nobleman is strong presumptive evidence of the truth of the accusation, and his great personal friendship with Warwick would seem to implicate the Earl. At any rate, they now sacrificed the imprudent servant; the other prisoners, with the exception of Cooke, escaped punishment. But he was most severely dealt with. Besides a fine of £8,000 he was obliged to pay a further sum to the Queen, under the obsolete custom of *aurum reginæ*. His estates and houses were stripped of valuables by the servants of Lord Rivers, the Constable, and Sir John Fogge. The King felt himself mocked by the sentences at the trial, and in a fury dismissed Sir John Markham from the Chief Justiceship.

Trial of Sir Thomas Cooke.

The arrival in Wales of Jasper Tudor threatened an important insurrection in that quarter. But Lord

[1] See "Wardrobe Accounts," for 1480 (ed. Nicolas), p. 132.

Herbert defeated him, and on August 14th reduced the castle of Harlech, which had held out against the King all the reign, to surrender. The garrison were brought to London, where two of them were beheaded. Lord Herbert was made Earl of Pembroke for his success.

News reached England of Lancastrian movements on the Continent, and in the autumn Edward corresponded with the Duke of Brittany, offering to send 3,000 men to help him against the King of France, while the Duke on his part agreed to deliver to Edward any places he might take in France.[1] A force of archers was at once raised and put under the command of Lords Scales and Mountjoy. But the Duke deserted his allies and came to terms with Louis, and the Breton ships which had come for the English force left Portsmouth shortly afterwards. Queen Margaret being reported to be waiting at Harfleur to embark for England, the English fleet put to sea under Lord Scales at the end of October; but after a cruise, which rumour in London said was utterly unnecessary and wasteful, they returned to port.[2]

The King remained in London during the latter part of the year. Some thought that the Nevilles were beginning to hope for a return of power and office, and it was said that it was only the influence of the Duke of Norfolk, who knew that George Neville was against him in his dispute with the Pastons over the possession of Caistor Castle, that prevented his receiving again the Great Seal.[3]

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 626-8.
[2] William of Worcester, p. 792.
[3] "Paston Letters," iv, p. 303.

Lancastrian arrests and executions.

Arrests, trials and executions in London on charges of correspondence with the Lancastrians continued. At the end of the year Sir Thomas Hungerford and Henry Courtenay, heir to the earldom of Devon, were arrested, and tried at Salisbury on January 16th, 1469.[1] The King went down from London, and the Duke of Gloucester, the Earl of Arundel and the Lords Scales, Audley, Stafford of Southwick, and Stourton, all strong Yorkists and personally attached to the King, sat in judgment on the prisoners, who were found guilty and executed, protesting that they were innocent. Public opinion was strongly against the condemnation of Courtenay and laid it to Lord Stafford of Southwick, who was supposed to be aspiring to, and certainly afterwards obtained, the earldom of Devon.

Feelings and intentions of Warwick.

The country was becoming completely disorganised by repeated disturbances. Private wars were being carried on, and it became more and more evident that there was some power which was gaining in strength behind the elements of disaffection.

The details of the history of the early part of the year 1469, given by contemporary chroniclers, are so scanty that it is almost impossible to pick a connected story from them. But the Earl of Warwick was now definitely contemplating defiance of the King. He had always cultivated the London mob, with whom his name was all powerful: "Which way he nodded, that way ran the stream." He spent the greater part of his time on his estates, where he is reported to have entertained and sounded his brothers and other nobles. The Earl of Northumberland had done Edward excellent service against the

[1] Gregory, p. 237. See Ramsay, ii, pp. 335-6.

Lancastrians, and had received many grants from the King, one being dated in June of the preceding year. He seems not to have borne any great part in political discussion, but to have been employed principally in matters of administration in the North. George Neville, the craftiest and most treacherous of his family, had also been treated with open confidence by the King, and we find a grant to him in November, 1468. The Earl himself was employed on commissions of the Peace up till May, 1469, and as late as February received grants of land in Cumberland and Warwickshire. But in his own eyes his injuries outweighed all benefits; the influence of Edward had up to this time been sufficient to prevent the granting of the Papal dispensation for the marriage of his daughter to the Duke of Clarence, a project on which his mind was resolutely fixed and for which he was continually scheming. After the unfettered responsibility of the early years of the reign the limitations to which he found himself constrained were intolerable. Edward's will hampered his at every turn and he could only break it by force. There is a story,[1] skilfully adapted by Lord Lytton in his "Last of the Barons," that the final breach between Edward and the Earl was brought about by the libertinism of the King, who went so far as to offer insult to Anne Neville, the King-maker's younger daughter. The tale rests on no contemporary evidence, and only finds place in the strongly Lancastrian historians of the next century. It can therefore be dismissed as a fiction founded on the well-known character of the King. Such stories are one of the penalties that attach to the particular vice of

[1] Polydore Vergil, p. 117.

which Edward was guilty. The method of Warwick's outbreak when it came was not such as to suggest the righteous rage of a cruelly injured father: it bore every trace of long and careful deliberation, such as a man of restless ambition, and strong personal pride might employ when he found himself reduced to the position of an ordinary man after he had been greater than the King himself. It is probable that the quarrel with the Woodvilles, the affair of the Burgundian alliance, the refusal to allow Clarence's marriage, were merely incidents which accentuated his fall, and that nothing but the first place in the counsels of the King would have recompensed the Earl for his degradation. Personal safety and riches he valued only as they contributed to power, which was the master passion of his life.

Royal progress in East Anglia June, 1469.

In May the King was at Windsor, where he elevated Lord Stafford of Southwick to the earldom of Devon.[1] He then decided to make the long talked of tour through East Anglia. The moment seemed to call for it. Norfolk had for long been among the most disturbed of the counties. Preparations were at once made by the local magnates to receive him. Accompanied by Rivers, Scales and Sir John Woodville, he was at Bury on June 15th and 16th, and visited Norwich, Walsingham, King's Lynn and Wisbech. The tour seems to have been a great success. At Norwich the Royal visitor had "right good cheer, and great gifts," "wherewith he holdeth himself so well content that he will hastily be here again, and the Queen also."[2] Attempts were made by the Pastons and the Duke of Norfolk to gain him to their

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 28.
[2] *Ibid.*, v, pp. 30-33.

respective interests in the never-ending dispute as to the possession of Caistor Castle, but once again Edward signified his desire that the matter should be settled by the ordinary course of law.

He then proceeded to Croyland, accompanied by two hundred horsemen. "Here he was honourably received as befitted the royal dignity, and passed the night a well-pleased guest. On the morrow, being greatly delighted with the quietude of the place and the country shown to him, he walked on foot through the streets to the western outlet of the vill, and after praising in high terms of commendation the plan of the stone bridge and the houses there, embarked (on the Nen) together with his attendants, and setting sail made a prosperous voyage to his castle at Fotheringay, where the Queen was awaiting his arrival."[1] This leisurely progress bespeaks an extraordinary confidence.

Rising at York, June, 1469.

While in Norfolk news had arrived sufficient to disturb even the strongest Government. The district round York had been for some time disturbed by a dispute as to the right of St. Leonard's Hospital to take a certain measure of corn from the local farmers for its support. An idea had gained ground that the Hospital applied its funds to unworthy objects, and some of the Yorkshiremen had refused their thrave of corn. The Earl of Warwick, Sir John Markham and Robert Danby had been appointed by the King to enquire into the matter and had given their decision in favour of the Hospital. On November 15th, 1468,[2] the King, in the presence of the Archbishop of York and Warwick, had announced this decision and ordered

[1] Cont. Croyland (ed. Riley), p. 445.
[2] See Patent Rolls, Ed. IV, under that date.

the usual payments. Suddenly the discontent found expression, and the countryside rose under a man named Robert Hillyard, who called himself Robin of Holderness: to the local question there appears to have been added some feeling in favour of the disinherited Percy, Earl of Northumberland [1] and the prevailing sentiment was Lancastrian. The local revolt was at once suppressed by John Neville, Earl of Northumberland; but the movement thereupon assumed a new character. Hillyard had been slain by Northumberland, but new leaders appeared, the chief of whom appears to have been Sir John Conyers, who had married a cousin of Warwick's; Sir Henry Fitzhugh, son of Lord Fitzhugh, who had married Warwick's sister; Sir Henry Neville, son of Lord Latimer, and another nephew of the Earl, Sir John Sutton, son of Lord Dudley, were with him. All brought out with them their tenants and retainers, and it was soon clear that the movement had been carefully organised. The numbers of the insurgents grew rapidly. The troops which had defeated Robin of Holderness had apparently been dismissed again to their homes, [2] and no attempt was made to crush the new assemblings before they became too strong. The news that reached the King, and the names of the leaders, should have indicated the nature and origin of the conspiracy. We have seen that Robin of Redesdale, who is generally identified with Sir John Conyers, had long been in command of a movement in favour of the Earl, and it is difficult to

Robin of Redesdale appears again.

[1] "Brief Latin Chronicle," p. 183.

[2] See Report of MSS. of Corporation of Beverley. The Corporation sent a force of archers *pro repressione Hob de Redesdale . . . in crastino S. Marci*, for nine days. On June 18th *Armati et sagittarii* for three days.

believe that the King did not know of its existence and personnel. But he made no sign of suspecting Warwick until the movement was fully developed. From Fotheringay, sending west for troops to join him under the Earls of Pembroke and Devon, he moved north with his small company to Stamford, Grantham and Newark. Then, finding himself in strength quite insufficient to face the forces of disorder, he turned back to Nottingham. It was here, probably, that he learnt definitely who was behind the insurgents.

Warwick at Calais, June-July, 1469.

In May he had appointed Warwick to take charge of the naval defences, as raids by the French were expected on the south coast.[1] The Earl had gone to Calais and quietly busied himself in perfecting his plans. His demeanour suggested nothing unusual, but the whole conspiracy was growing to a point under his hands. The Papal dispensation for Clarence's marriage to Isabel Neville reached him at Calais, where the Archbishop of York and Clarence joined him at the beginning of July; and on the 11th the marriage was celebrated by the former, Clarence swearing to support the Earl in the undertaking before them. On July 9th, before he could have heard of it, the King wrote from Nottingham sending Sir Thomas Montgomery and Maurice Berkeley to communicate his wishes, and summoning them to him, ordering Clarence "to dispose you according to our plesir and commandement." To Warwick he said, "and we ne trust that ye shulde be of any suech disposicioun towards us as the rumour here renneth, consederyng the trust and affeccion we have in you."

Edward summons the rebels to him.

[1] See Reports of Royal Commission on Historical Documents. Report 20, p. 284. Report 5, p. 524.

As a postscript were added the words " and, cosyn, ne thynk but ye shalbe to us welcome." To the Archbishop he wrote, " according to the promise ye made to us, to come to us as soon as ye goodely may."[1] The tone of the three notes betrays the mind of the King towards his three relatives, and indicates their dispositions. Clarence he merely orders to come : to Warwick he adds a personal appeal such as might move his old hero, the man who had introduced him to public life, and shared his early perils. The Archbishop is reminded of promises. The slippery priest, author of the reconciliation of eighteen months before, was doubly a traitor, as he was to prove again and again. Warwick had chosen his moment well. The King was in the Midlands : the only army he had in the field was moving up northwards from the West to join him. On July 13th the three rebels landed and marched on London. They reissued, under their names, the proclamation and petition already published by the rebels in the North.[2]

The tone of the Manifesto shows that the power and influence with the King of his new nobility was the real cause of offence. The charges brought closely resemble those in the political manifestoes of Henry VI's reign, and show that the position of the Crown was still anomalous. That the King should live " of his own," as was again demanded, could only mean at that stage of constitutional development a weak kingship, or a despotism. There was no hint of constitutional reform or of insight into the real needs of the time. Warwick merely would replace one set of royal advisers by himself and his party :

[1] " Paston Letters," v, p. 35.

[2] "Brief Latin Chronicle" implies by *quasi multa corrigi* that the northern rebels had issued their proclamation.

the King ruled through them, but he would rule through the King.

Advance of the Northern rebels.

At the same time as Warwick and Clarence landed, the Yorkshire rebels began to move south, and taking roads to the west of the King, marched by Doncaster and Derby into Warwickshire, where they met the army of the Earl of Pembroke. The forces of the Earl of Devon, with which it had been united on the Cotswolds, had been withdrawn some miles owing to a personal quarrel between the two commanders. Herbert was without archers; and when the rebels attacked him at Edgcott, near Banbury, on July 26th, they defeated him, with heavy loss. Pembroke and his brother were taken to Northampton, where they were beheaded next morning by the orders, or certainly with the approval of Warwick, who was in the neighbourhood that day.[1]

The King's movements and capture.

The movements of the King are obscure. He had with him at Nottingham, according to one authority,[2] the Lords Hastings and Mountjoy, and Sir Thomas à Burgh. These three, especially Hastings, undoubtedly bore no favour to the Woodvilles, though they were always personally loyal to the King. In his perplexity he asked their advice, and they are reported to have kept from him the fact that Pembroke's army was approaching, to have warned him that the Woodvilles were the cause of the rising, and advised their being sent from the King's presence. The King agreed, and Rivers and Sir John Woodville went off to Chepstow, Scales joining the Queen at Cambridge. If the King's advisers deliberately misled him as to

[1] See Cont. Croyland (ed. Riley), p. 446.

[2] This story is from Wavrin, pp. 583-6. See Oman's "Warwick," pp. 186-190.

the military situation and gave him such advice, the whole movement can be explained simply as one against the Woodville faction. But the story rests on no better foundation than the testimony of one foreign chronicler. Anyhow the fact that the Woodvilles were not with the King, but separated in different parts of the country, is undoubted.

Somewhere about July 20th the King left Nottingham and moved south, probably endeavouring to get in touch with Pembroke. His route is unknown. We gather that he was joined by a considerable number of men on the march. Arrived in the neighbourhood of Coventry[1] he received the news of Pembroke's defeat at Edgcott. His forerriders reported that the Northerners were in possession of the town. His troops began to desert him, under the influence of the news of the defeat, and the infectious spirit of rebellion that was prevalent in the neighbourhood. In these circumstances he remained in the hamlet of Olney, near Coventry.[1] Warwick, Clarence and the Archbishop of York were by this time in the neighbourhood, and Edward's whereabouts becoming known, the Archbishop rode at night and took possession of his person.

The Burgundian Wavrin, the only contemporary who gives any detail of the incident, records that "the Archbishop arrived at dead of night with a large force; but on asking to see the King was told that he was resting and would speak to him in the morning. On the Archbishop's insisting on an interview at once, the King allowed him to enter his chamber. 'You must rise and come to my brother of Warwick,' said the Archbishop; 'you cannot

[1] See Appendix at the end of this chapter.

refuse.' Then the King, doubting lest worse should happen to him, dressed, and the Archbishop brought him, without any great ceremony, to the place where the Earl and the Duke of Clarence were, between Warwick and Coventry, where he presented their King to them."

Warwick received him courteously and intimated that no harm was intended to his person; but Edward saw at once that he was a prisoner. The Earl had gained exactly what he wanted—control of the King, the foremost place in the kingdom, power once more. He was yet to see that power so gained would neither advantage himself nor the kingdom.

King Edward in captivity, Aug.-Sept., 1469.

The Royal prisoner was taken to Kenilworth and thence to imprisonment in Warwick, where on August 12th he probably witnessed the execution of the hated Rivers and Sir John Woodville, who had been captured at Chepstow.[1] After a short stay at Warwick and Coventry he was taken north to Middleham, where he was kept in not very rigorous confinement, being allowed to hunt in the country. A new household in Warwick's interest was appointed for him.[2] But Warwick almost immediately became aware that he had gone too far. The imprisonment of the King was too flagrantly the act of a too powerful noble with personal grievances to avenge. London reacted strongly in Edward's favour. The Duke of Burgundy, on the receipt of the news of his ally's misfortunes, had written to the Mayor, asking him to use his influence to keep the Londoners faithful to their King.[3] Nor was London the only part of the country which showed its discontent with the assumptions

[1] See Ramsay, ii, p. 343.
[2] Commines (Bohn, i,) p. 184. [3] Wavrin, p. 583.

of the Earl. There is no doubt that Warwick had relied largely on the Lancastrian elements of disaffection to the King, and had received their support in his insurrection. But he was not yet prepared to take the logical consequences of his acceptance of Lancastrian assistance. The idea of a Lancastrian restoration could not be entertained until the kingdom showed a more emphatic trust in him, and until foreign support was properly organised for such a measure. Moreover, he was the man above all others to whom King Henry had owed his loss of the Crown: he had been the most bitter, persistent and ruthless enemy of the Lancastrian nobles. Further, the restoration of the Lancastrians meant the loss of the support of his brother, the Earl of Northumberland, whose earldom must have been restored to the Percy heir. But the fire he had kindled showed itself at once. Humphrey Neville, one of the Lancastrian branch of the family, who had been hiding for some years, reappeared on the Border, prepared to assert once more the rights of the Red Rose.[1]

Is liberated or escapes.

The Earl's position became impossible. He found himself unable to raise forces to put down the Lancastrian rising, while the King was his captive. He decided, therefore, that he must make some effort to disabuse the public of the idea that he was incarcerating and controlling Edward, who, realising how completely he was in the power of his cousin, had shown his accustomed ease in making the best of things. He had agreed to appoint Warwick Justiciar of South Wales in place of the Earl of Pembroke, Constable of Cardigan Castle and Steward of the Courts of Carmarthen and Cardigan.[2] The Earl

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 458. [2] Rymer, xi, p. 647.

thought that by these offices he would gain control of a district that had lain outside his influence, counterbalancing the King's connection with the Welsh Marches. In the place of Rivers as Treasurer, he secured Edward's acceptance of Sir John Langstrother, a Warwickite and a Lancastrian. Probably there was some understanding as to the future, the King promising pardons to all the participators in the rebellion of Robin of Redesdale. Warwick then endeavoured to show that the King was not his prisoner, by allowing him to appear in York. The effect of this measure seems to have been immediate. The Lancastrian rising was at once suppressed, and Humphrey Neville was executed at York in the King's presence. The next step is exceedingly obscure. Whether the King was actually liberated, or whether, taking advantage of his greater liberty, he escaped from the company of the Earl, it is impossible to say.[1] The writers of the next century state that being out hunting one day, he met by appointment some of his friends, and that those with him responsible for his person, finding themselves too few and too weak to prevent his going with them, he deliberately rode away.[2] Others suggest that the Archbishop of York, ever one who watched the way of the wind, had been won over by the King and connived at his escape. Certainly the conduct of the prelate in the next few months suggests that he was to some extent in Edward's power. The truth may be, as Sir James Ramsay suggests,[3] that directly Warwick relaxed the tutelage in which he held him,

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 458.

[2] Polydore Vergil, pp. 124-7; Grafton, p. 17; Hall, p. 274; Holinshed, p. 292; Egerton MS. 2642, f. 115*b*.

[3] Ramsay, ii, p. 344.

the King, surrounded by his friends, felt himself strong enough to refuse to return to a position to which the Earl on his part dare not attempt to force him. Neither party was in the situation to risk a fight. We know that in September the King was sending messages south to various Lords, who went north in obedience to his summons.[1] Possibly he had gained to his side Northumberland and the Archbishop; and for the moment Warwick had to accept the necessity of his complete liberation with as good grace as possible. There is one report that he wrote to London to tell the people to do the King all honour.[2]

Edward returns to London.

About the middle of October the King entered London, "and there came with him and rode by him the Duke of Gloucester, the Duke of Suffolk, the Earl of Arundel, the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Essex, the Lords Henry and John of Buckingham, the Lord Dacre, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Mountjoy, and many other knights and squires, the Mayor of London, twenty-two Aldermen in scarlet, and of the Craftsmen of the town to the number of 200, all in blue. The King came through Chepe, though it was out of his way, because (otherwise) he would not be (have been) seen, and he was accompanied in all people, with 1,000 horse, some harnessed and some not. My Lord Archbishop came with him from York, and is at the Moor, and my Lord of Oxford rode to have met the King, and he is with my Lord Archbishop at the Moor, and not come to town with the King: some say that they were yesterday three miles to the kingwards from the Moor, and that the King sent them a messenger that

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 50. [2] Wavrin, as above.

they should come when that he sent for them. I wot not what to suppose therein: the King himself hath good language of the Lords of Clarence and Warwick, and of my Lords of York and of Oxford, saying they be his best friends: but his household men have other language, so that what shall hastily fall I cannot say."[1]

So ended the first open struggle of King and Kingmaker. The "good language" of the King can only be explained by a sincere recognition of past follies, or by dissimulation. The latter is the more probable. He did not yet know how he stood with the people, how far his position had been weakened, how far he could count on public support if he boldly attempted to crush his enemies. And yet his conduct during the next few months suggests that he was prepared to make a real effort to work amicably with Warwick and Clarence. "Prudence required him to forget the affront and not show himself in any way offended."[2]

Negotiations for peace.

It was thought for a time that both parties would raise troops and proceed to the arbitrament of battle, indeed, we find that the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk and Lord Scales and others received commissions to raise forces against the rebels in October and up to November 16th,[3] but influences were brought to bear on either side to prevent the reopening of civil war. Negotiations between the King and Warwick led to the Earl and the Duke of Clarence agreeing to come to Westminster for a full discussion with the King of the matters that lay between them. The meeting

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 62.
[2] Gairdner's Introd. "Paston Letters," i, p. 250.
[3] Rymer, xi, p. 648.

is reported to have been stormy in the extreme,[1] but out of it came decisions of importance. The King accepted Sir John Langstrother, whom he had previously opposed, as Prior of St. John, but the Bishop of Ely was made Treasurer in his stead. The Constableship of the Tower, vacant by the death of Rivers, was given to Richard, Duke of Gloucester, who was free from suspicion of sympathy with Clarence and Warwick, but not offensive to their party. Now in Council the King agreed to publish a general pardon for all offences against him up to Christmas.[2] Possibly to mark the amnesty, the Council agreed to the betrothal of his eldest daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, to George Neville, son of the Earl of Northumberland. This step is capable of several explanations. The King, while in the North, had learnt the strength of the feeling on behalf of Henry Percy, the dispossessed heir to the earldom of Northumberland, who had long been confined in the Tower. His release would give great satisfaction in districts which were not otherwise disaffected. Accordingly, on taking the oath of homage to Edward, he was liberated very soon after the King returned to London.[3] The step probably alarmed John Neville, and the offer for his son of the hand of the King's daughter may have been made to reassure him. The King had a strong personal affection for him, and possibly was endeavouring to detach him from his brothers by this mark of confidence. Warwick found himself unable to refuse to agree to an alliance that did so much honour to his brother. The proposed marriage had little

[1] Polydore Vergil, p. 126.
[2] Hearne's "Fragment," p. 301; Warkworth, p. 112.
[3] Rymer, xi, p. 648.

dynastic significance. The King was still without a son. Another daughter, Cecily, was born some time at the end of this year: but with Clarence married to the daughter of Warwick, and Gloucester still to marry, any idea of succession for George Neville, who was made Duke of Bedford in honour of his prospective bride, was hopelessly remote. But the betrothal was accepted as a mark of distinction for the Nevilles and a pledge of good feeling. Warwick on his part agreed to recognise the falsity of a charge of witchcraft which had been trumped up against the Queen's mother during Robin of Redesdale's rebellion.[1]

Warwick again meditating treason.

But peace was only on the surface. In December the agent of the Duke of Milan had reported that the King was very well re-established, and the war between the said King and the Earl of Warwick greater than ever.[2] In February there appears to have been a further public effort at reconciliation. The King and Warwick are shortly afterwards reported as "well agreed together."[3] That in the opinion of those on the Continent Edward had come through the crisis of the last six months without being materially weakened, is shown by the fact that in January, a safe conduct was granted at the request of King Louis to Monypenny and other French councillors.[4] His re-establishment might mean an attack on France, and Louis, disappointed by Warwick's failure, felt himself obliged to treat again with Edward. Warwick felt power slipping from him again; and again began to meditate treason and yet

[1] "Rot. Parl.," vi, p. 23.
[2] "Venetian Papers," p. 423.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 426.
[4] Rymer, xi, p. 650.

another attempt to make good his position against his master. Again he was cautious and treacherous. He went so far as to lead the King to believe that he was ready to consider an armed descent on France with him, in accordance with Edward's announcement to his Parliament in 1468, news which was received with consternation in France where ban and arrière ban were proclaimed in view of the approaching invasion.[1] He moved between his estates and London nursing a new conspiracy, and preparing to call out his retainers in Warwickshire, while with Edward he affected friendship. The Duke of Clarence was deep in the plot, and showed great facility in the course of deceit which he was obliged to practice until their plans were ripe.

The outbreak of disturbance in Lincolnshire, February, 1470.

In February news reached London of disturbances in Lincolnshire. Lord Welles and his son, Sir Robert Welles, Sir Thomas Delalande and Sir Thomas Dymmock, both brothers-in-law of Welles's, had led their retainers to an attack on the house of Sir Thomas de Burgh, a knight of the King's household, and sacked and plundered it. So far there was no appearance of anything more serious than a private war. The King at once summoned Welles and Dymmock to London; they came, according to some, under promise of safety, the former charging his son to come to his help if he heard that he was in danger. But the disturbance, so far from abating, increased. Reports were circulated among the people that the King "was coming down with grete power into Lincolnshire, where the kinges jugges shoulde sitte, and hang and draw grete noumbers of the commons."[2]

[1] "Scandalous Chronicle." Bohn ii, p. 360.

[2] See Confession of Sir Robert Welles. "Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire," p. 21.

The prospect of this bloody vengeance kept the people in the field; the county had always been predominantly Lancastrian in feeling, and cries of "King Harry"[1] began to mark a definitely political element in the mob.

It was probably on receipt of this further intelligence[2] that Welles and Dymmock took Sanctuary at Westminster. The King decided that he must strike at once. His experience of the previous year had taught him the danger of these risings and shown him how they grew unless immediately suppressed. Accordingly he announced his intention of going down into Lincolnshire himself to put an end to the rising. He did not again make the mistake of taking an insufficient force, but was strongly provided with artillery, and other troops were to join him on the way. Public opinion felt the affair serious: "men wot not what will fall thereof nor thereafter." The collusion, at least, of Warwick was suspected. "My Lord of Warwick, as it is supposed, shall go with the King into Lincolnshire. Some men say that his going shall do good, and some say that it doth harm."[3]

Edward's diplomacy.

If the King had any suspicion of the complicity of Warwick and Clarence with this new outbreak, his diplomatic strategy was extraordinarily brilliant. But the truth seems to be that for the moment its apparent Lancastrian character deceived him.[4]

[1] Warkworth, p. 113.

[2] It seems evident that the disturbances grew in size and significance from a local *émeute*, as in the preceding year.

[3] "Paston Letters," v, p. 68.

[4] A circumstantial story of an attempt to kidnap the King belongs apparently to this time. The Archbishop of York invited him to a banquet "at his Palace of the Moor beside Langley. A little before supper, when they should have washed, John Ratcliff warned the King privily, and bade

According to one authority, the City was placarded with the Bills of the Earl and the Duke at this very time.[1] If so they were able to remove the King's suspicions.

He had arranged to leave London on Sunday, March 4th, but on that day Clarence announced that he was coming to London to take leave of his brother before going into the West of England, where he was to join his wife.[2] On the 6th, Tuesday, the brothers met and talked at Baynard's Castle, were at service and "offered" together at S. Paul's, after which, parting with every appearance of friendship, Edward began his march, while Clarence, according to the record given in the official account of their proceedings, after consultation with Sir John Langstrother, Prior of St. John's, and Lord Welles, left London too, but not to join his wife.

him beware; for there were ordained privily over 100 men of arms, the which should take him and convey him out of the way." Making an excuse to withdraw, Edward "caused a good horse to be saddled, and so with a small company, rode to Windsor."—Hearne's "Fragment," 302.

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi, p. 179-182.

[2] *Ibid.*

EDWARD IV AT OLNEY IN JULY-AUGUST, 1469

WHEN, in July, 1469, King Edward came from the North to the Midlands and heard that the Royal forces under the Earl of Pembroke had been defeated at Edgecote he was deserted by his troops and taken prisoner by the Earl of Warwick, or emissaries of his. There has been some controversy as to the place where he was found. Sir James Ramsay (ii, 343) says it was " at Honiley, or Olney, three miles west of Kenilworth." Professor Oman (" Political History," 1377-1485, p. 434, cf. Warwick, pp. 188-9) says " Olney, Bucks, on the edge of Northamptonshire."

Of the original authorities Warkworth (" Chronicles of the White Rose," p. 111) says " in a village beside Northampton." Leland, in transcribing this Chronicle into his Collectanea inserts " Ulnay " as the name of the village. The third " Continuator of Croyland " (ed. Riley, p. 458), says " at a certain village near Coventry." Wavrin (pp. 543-546) says that Warwick and Clarence had marched from the South straight on Northampton; moving westward they were between Warwick and Coventry when they heard that the King was close at hand. Edward had sent forerides to Coventry to get lodging for his men, but found it in the hands of the Northern rebels, and thereupon, deciding to go no further, stopped in a village hard by—" Honiley " is added in a note of the Editor's. The testimony of contemporaries is thus two to one in favour of Edward's being further West than Olney in Buckinghamshire, and indicates the neighbourhood of Coventry as being the place where he halted.

Later writers incline to this view. Polydore Vergil (pp. 123-4) says that Edward arrived with a small army too late to take part in the battle near Banbury and stayed still five miles away. Grafton (Vol. II, p. 14) repeats much the same story, adding " at a place called ' Wolney ' "—as does Hall (p. 275) " at a place called Wolney, four miles from Warwick "; statements reiterated by Holinshed (p. 292).

Olney, in Buckinghamshire, " long formed a part of the extensive domains of the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick " (see " The Town of Cowper," p. 22, ed. T. Wright, Olney). " Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, in June 18th, 1465, received from Edward IV Letters Patent to found a chantry of one chaplain to celebrate divine service daily at St. Mary's Altar, in the Church of SS. Peter and Paul, Olney," a fact which shows

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that he had local interests and influence. There is a tradition that " the Great House," which stood near the Church, but has now been pulled down, is the scene of Edward's capture. Lord Lytton, in " The Last of the Barons," in a strikingly fanciful and unhistorical passage adopts this as fact. (Book VII, Chapters ii-vi.) Traditions such as this often arise long after the supposed event.

Honiley is three miles west of Kenilworth, five miles north of Warwick, and six miles south of Coventry. It is to the west of the roads between the two towns. I can find no local tradition of Edward's presence in Honiley, and have been informed that there is no trace of any habitation other than Kenilworth Castle in the immediate neighbourhood where he could be entertained.[1]

What were the movements of Warwick and Clarence? They reached Northampton on July 27th (Oman, p. 434). The fight at Edgecote had taken place the day before, and by the 27th Warwick would know that all danger from Pembroke's army was past. Its commander and his brother had been beheaded that morning in Northampton. Warwick, Clarence and the Archbishop of York appear to have left Northampton at once, after dismissing the Kentish levies, in the direction of Warwick. Edward probably left Nottingham about July 20th-22nd. The army of the Northern rebels was in front of him, between him and the army under Pembroke. But there seems no reason to suppose that, when he began to move he was unable to follow their route instead of keeping to the east of them and marching to Northampton. If he was at Northampton at all it seems he must have abandoned it before Warwick came up, or arrived there after him. But his object had probably been to get in touch with Pembroke's forces and it seems more likely that he marched south straight on Coventry, which he reached after Warwick and his brother had passed by in the direction of Warwick. There he heard of Pembroke's defeat and death, and near there he stopped.

Thus far the case for Honiley seems the stronger. But in consulting Wright's " Town of Cowper " for local details of Olney, Bucks, I found the following statement :—that there was once another Olney, " a moated field in Warwickshire, which Mr. Storer suggests may be the site of a mansion belonging to the Olney family of Bucks."

On referring to Dugdale's " Antiquities of Warwickshire," (ed. 1730, Vol. I, p. 201), I found that there had been an

[1] I thank Mr. J. W. Rylands, F.S.A., Rowington, Warwick, for his kind answer to my enquiries on the subject.

" Olneye," a hamlet in the Knightlow Hundred, apparently in the immediate vicinity of Coventry. Enquiries on the spot have failed to elicit the slightest information as to this " Olneye," and its site appears to have been forgotten. But the coincidence as to the name Olney is so striking, taken in conjunction with the evidence of Wavrin and the third " Continuator of Croyland " given above, as to make it a reasonable conjecture that this " Olneye " was the scene of Edward's capture. Deserted by his troops, he was surprised by the Archbishop of York, who had left his brother for the purpose, and taken, possibly to Kenilworth, where the Earl had then arrived. As to Warkworth—he may have known that the Archbishop had originally set out from Northampton, and therefore indicated the place of capture as a village in the vicinity. Leland may have heard Olney, Ulnay, Wolney, as the name of the place, and knowing of Olney, Bucks, as being near Northampton, inserted it in his transcription of Warkworth thinking that he was thereby fixing the spot. It is probable that the question will never be entirely cleared up ; but perhaps this Olney, by Coventry, has the best claim to be considered as the scene of the remarkable incident in question.

CHAPTER IX

EDWARD AND WARWICK—THE THIRD STAGE

The King sets out for Lincolnshire.

On the night of Tuesday, March 6th, the King slept at Waltham Abbey.[1] The next morning he heard that Sir Robert Welles had, on the previous Sunday, put out proclamations calling on the people to resist the King, and fixing Ranby Howe, near Horncastle, as their place of assembling. Edward's meditated revenge on the commons of the shire was urged as reason for the step. The King, furious at this determined insurrection, sent to London for Welles and Dymmock and resumed his march. Before reaching Royston a messenger from Lord Cromwell's Lincolnshire estates was brought before him. From the accounts he bore it was evident that the proclamations would bring out large numbers of men. Arrived at Royston, Edward received a letter from Clarence, offering to join the King instead of going westward, at such a time and place as Warwick should arrange. The King sent a personal letter of thanks, and with it commissions to his brother, the Earl of Warwick and others, to raise forces in Worcestershire and Warwickshire.[2] The next day at Huntingdon, Lord Welles and Dymmock, who had now overtaken the royal party, were interrogated as to the new outbreak, and are reported to have confessed their complicity.

[1] The Chronicle of the Rebellion in Lincolnshire (*Camden Miscellany*) covers most of this Chapter: and seems to be a substantially correct and fair account. References to it are not given except on special points.

[2] Rymer, xi, p. 652.

The King bade Welles write to his son, ordering him to desist from the rebellion; and threatened that if his appeal failed he would put him to death. On March 11th Edward reached Fotheringay, where he heard that the rebels had passed Grantham and were moving in the direction of Leicester. But at this point they were suddenly turned back by their commander, who hoped to encounter the King at Stamford and rescue his father, of whose imminent danger he had learnt. On the 12th the King reached Stamford, where he victualled his troops. There he received a letter from Warwick and Clarence saying they were at Coventry and were coming towards him, expecting to be in Leicester on Monday night. Information was also received that Welles's host was near at hand, prepared for resistance. The King's movements were ruthless and decisive; Lord Welles and Dymmock were promptly executed under the Royal Standard. His exasperation must have been extreme to make him take such a step at such a moment; but the treachery with which he was surrounded determined him to exact the last penalty from those whom he had already in his power. The executions over, he put his troops in battle array and marched out to encounter the rebels. He found them about four and a half miles away, and attacking at once, absolutely overwhelmed them. The motley horde, thrown into utter confusion by the royal artillery, broke up and fled, casting their cloaks away in their haste to escape. "Lose-coat field" was not a battle, but a rout. Nothing could stop the fugitives; some fled as far as Scarborough. But the pursuit was not particularly rigorous—the King "using plentifully his mercy in saving the lives of his poor wretched

Movements of the rebels.

Lose-coat Field, March 12th, 1470.

commons,"[1] dupes and pawns in the hands of far greater traitors. On the battlefield the King's eyes were opened. The rebels had advanced to the fight with shouts of " à Warwick," " à Clarence," and some of them bore Clarence's livery. He returned for the night to Stamford. According to his own account he was still in ignorance of the treason of his brother and cousin, but it is hard to believe that he had not received sufficient evidence of what had been going on. If he had, he in turn dissembled, when the next day he wrote to inform them of his victory, telling them to dismiss their levies and come to him with ordinary retinues, as all danger from the Lincolnshire men was past. He accompanied his letters with orders to the Sheriffs of Warwickshire and Leicestershire to forbid all gatherings or assemblies by reason of commissions lately given—a fact which shows that he wished to prevent Warwick and Clarence receiving further reinforcements. The messenger reached them at Coventry ; troops had come in so slowly that they had not proceeded to Leicester. On the 14th, however, the matter was put beyond all doubt. Welles was brought before the King at Grantham, and there " uncompelled, not for fere of death nor otherwise stirred," confessed that the whole rebellion had been engineered by Clarence and Warwick, and blackest treason of all, it was intended to make Clarence King in Edward's stead. The confession of Welles has been described as rambling and unconvincing,[2] but it was

[1] Chronicle as above. See also Cont. Croyland, p. 481. " He showed grace and favour to the ignorant and guiltless multitude."

[2] See Oman's " Warwick," p. 197. " Political History of England," Vol. IV, p. 437. The complicity of Warwick and Clarence is stated by Cont. Croyland, p. 461, and Warkworth, p. 114. It is implied by Hearne's Fragment, p. 302.

not a moment for a man to draw up a cool and ordered account of such a matter. It may be asked why Welles, with the certainty of death before him, should make such a confession at all, and it has been conjectured that he did so in hope that by casting the blame on Warwick and Clarence he would save his own head. It is at least equally probable that in the bitterness of defeat, seeing how he and his had been duped and led to their destruction, and apparently abandoned by those who had instigated their rebellion, he decided to tell the whole truth to the King, by maligning whom Warwick and Clarence had induced him to take up arms.

The confession of Sir Robert Welles.

The confession is indeed circumstantial. It seems that directly news of the local disturbance in January and February reached Clarence, he sent two chaplains, John Barnby and John Clare, to tell Welles to have a force ready to act when word should be sent to him. The report of the King's revengeful intentions was skilfully used to keep the movement alive. The moment came when specific advice to be moving arrived and Clarence promised to go to London to delay the King and protect the interests of Lord Welles. The host assembled and began its march—Warwick tarried long in coming, but sent messages that he and Clarence were gathering troops and would soon be with them. Later he told them he would be at Leicester on March 12th, advising Welles to let the King's force pass, so as to get between him and the South. This arrangement was upset by Welles's fear for the safety of his father. The intention to make Clarence king was known and discussed in the host.

This is a coherent story, and there seems no

reasonable cause to doubt its substantial accuracy. It has been suggested that the King raised to suppress the Lincolnshire rebellion a force unnecessarily large and strong, which he all the time meant to turn against his brother and the Earl. To this it may be objected that the reports of the magnitude of the disturbance justified every precaution: the King's experience against Robin of Redesdale would prevent his making the mistake again of being in insufficient strength to meet the rebels. Moreover, having got the army it is hard to see why he could not at once proceed against the chief rebels if he had the will to do so and the evidence of their guilt to justify such a step in the eyes of his army. Did he after his victory, finding himself with an unbroken army, then bethink him of a possible revenge for his humiliation of the previous year? His rapid march suggests some scheme which depended on the time he took to dispose of the Lincolnshire outbreak. But we do not know that he would have been so quick if it had not been for the news of March 7th, sufficiently alarming in view of the previous year to call for a supreme effort. On the whole, we are forced to the conclusion that things were substantially as we have recounted them: that the King once again had been overconfident and unsuspicious: but that his fine military abilities, and the failure of Welles to march on to Leicester, had upset the plans of the conspirators and shown to the King the full extent of their treason.

Movements of Warwick and Clarence.

The Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence in answer to the King's first summons, sent word that they would come to him with 1,000 or 1,500 men at the most. But they moved off to Burton and then to Derby, trying as they went to raise men; for they

knew now that their treason must be known. The King, on his part, hearing of further disturbances in the neighbourhood of Richmond, empowered the Earl of Northumberland to raise troops, which were to face Warwick and Clarence if they came further north. But the malcontents of Richmond, who had now received news of the King's victory, disbanded their men and remained quiet. On March 16th Edward reached Newark. There he issued a proclamation in view of the rumour that he had not intended to abide by his pardon :—" We will that ye understand and know for certain that he will keep and perform his said pardon and proclamation in every point."[1] This was intended to reassure the participants in the rebellion of Robin of Redesdale, who were afraid of the King's presence with an army in the North : it had an excellent effect in depriving Warwick of what might have been formidable assistance in that quarter.

Messengers arrived from the Earl saying he intended to join the King, with the Duke of Clarence, at Retford. On the 18th Edward reached Doncaster ; by this time he saw that the time for concealment was past ; he accordingly sent Garter King of Arms to meet Warwick and Clarence in Chesterfield, ordering them to come in and answer for the Lincolnshire rising. He let them know that the fact that they had been collecting men in their own name had been discovered. On the same day he received a messenger with humble letters from the rebels asking for assurances of safety if they came to him, and pardon for them and others " on their part." The King expressed

[1] See Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus., 4614 ; Rot. Claus. 10, Ed. IV, m, 7.

surprise at such a request—remembering his pardon of the previous year, which at their request he had made to extend to a later date than he had previously intended. To ask for a further pardon was admission of guilt. On the receipt of a further request for a pledge of safety on oath, the King said in the presence of his lords that the King of France could not ask as much. He was determined to grant no such favour to rebels. If they could clear themselves of the charges against them he would be glad: but anyhow he would not forget the ties of blood and friendship. Messages to those gentry who were in arms on the rebels' behalf had an immediate effect; Warwick and Clarence found themselves deserted, and on Monday night, March 19th, left Chesterfield—not in the direction of the King. Meanwhile at Doncaster Sir Robert Welles was executed, as it were in answer to the refusal of his instigators to submit. Others suffered the death penalty at the same time—the King probably hoping that his extreme severity would induce others to submit. It is a curious fact that he was too easily appeased and deceived by submission, too ruthless to a determined enemy when defeated. Again and again this tendency in his character is illustrated, always with bad effect for his own cause.

The King advances against them.

On the 20th news was received of Warwick's whereabouts, and the King at once moved on Chesterfield. His army was in full force "and it was said that were never seen in England so many goodly men and so well arrayed in a field"[1]—the Norfolk levies being conspicuous for their numbers. At Rotherham it was discovered that the rebels had left Chesterfield,

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 20.

but the royal troops were not prepared for another long march—victuals had run short. Warwick's objective was unknown, so Edward fell back on York, which he reached on the 22nd, in order to keep the rebels from entering the lately disaffected districts in the neighbourhood. From the Northern capital he issued a proclamation giving Clarence and Warwick orders to come to him by March 28th on pain of being openly branded as traitors; and sent word to Edmund Dudley, Clarence's deputy in Ireland, to arrest the Duke and Warwick if they should land in that country.[1] The Sheriffs of the counties of the south-west were ordered to be on the alert to seize them if they attempted to escape in that direction. At York news arrived that the rebels had gone to Lancashire—to Warwick's brother-in-law, Lord Stanley, from whom they might hope for assistance, not only on the score of relationship, but on account of the fact that there had been some quarrel between him and Richard, Duke of Gloucester. The King found it wise to issue a proclamation forbidding any who might feel themselves injured in this matter to take up arms; they were to "sue for remedy by the course of our said sovereign Lord's Laws and by none otherwise."[2] What the matter in dispute was we do not know—but popular feeling appears by this to have been on the side of Stanley.

Submission of the North.

While the King was at York many of the Northern malcontents came in and asked pardon, John Neville, Earl of Northumberland, who appears to have been all the time implicated in the plot, Lord Scrope of Bolton, Sir John Conyers, and Hillyard the

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 653.
[2] Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus. 4614, f. 28b.

younger among others. All are reported to have confessed that Warwick and Clarence were at the bottom of all the trouble; and the military orders which they had received tally with the details given in the confession of Welles. While the Lincolnshire men were to move on Leicester, Conyers was to attempt to prevent the royal forces proceeding beyond Rotherham—thus holding the King between two hostile forces.

Pursuit of Warwick and Clarence.

Arrived at Nottingham on March 31st, the King learnt that his enemies, whom he then definitely proclaimed traitors, having failed to secure the help of Lord Stanley, had moved down the West of England to Devonshire. The royal army moved slowly in the same direction, Edward seeming to have hoped they would fly the country. He was at Coventry on April 4th, Burford on the 6th.[1] About this time Warwick and Clarence, realising that in England their position was hopeless, embarked at Dartmouth, and after an attempt to seize a big ship in Southampton harbour —an enterprise which lost them some of their followers —made for Calais. On April 14th Edward reached Exeter, being met at the South gate by the Mayor and 400 citizens in livery.[2] The keys and a sum of money were handed over to the King, who made a triumphal entry with the Bishop of Ely, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the Earls of Arundel, Worcester, Shrewsbury and Rivers, Lords Hastings, Grey of Codnor, Audley, Say, Stourton, Dacre, Mountjoy, Stanley, Ferrers and Dudley. The next day was Palm Sunday, and the King attended Divine Service in great state. After a stay of three days he proceeded to Salisbury, whence, moving slowly along the

[1] Ramsay ii, p. 353, note 3. [2] Holinshed, p. 298.

South Coast, he returned to London about the middle of June.

The campaign had shown the King in the capacity in which he shone—as a soldier. The rapidity and certainty of his military operations, the ease with which he had routed his enemies, the strength he had shown, the decision in dealing with his complicated position—all are an advance on anything he had done since the campaign of Towton. And there is no doubt that his success had encouraged him greatly, so much so that encouragement soon degenerated into boastful self-confidence. The atmosphere of tension of the past few years was suddenly relieved by the explosion: the treachery with which he had been surrounded was unmasked and defeated, his great opponents were exiles from the country—an object lesson had been given to rebels.

Severity of Edward.

But the very severity of his measures was to be a cause of future trouble.[1] At Southampton some Warwickite prisoners had been tried before the Earl of Worcester, again appointed Constable, and impaled, an atrocity which definitely transgressed the standards of even that bloody age. A feeling of horror spread, similar to that which went through the country after the march of Margaret's army in January and February, 1461. Alarm became consternation. No one who had given cause of suspicion felt safe, and the sanctuaries were soon crowded. But there was another cause of weakness in the King's newly-established position. The Earl of Northumberland had been implicated in his brother's

[1] At Sandwich he had taken the peculiar revenge of turning out of the town all women whose husbands or lovers were abroad with Clarence and Warwick. See Boys "History of Sandwich," p. 676

treason, and though he had received his master's pardon at York, he lost what all his policy had been set to retain, the Earldom of Northumberland. Henry Percy, who had accompanied and given faithful service to the King, was restored, and was moreover given the office of Warden of the East and Middle Marches. Edward, unwilling to humiliate too deeply his friend, John Neville, had made him Marquis of Montagu ; but it was a barren title and its possessor became dependent on the King in a way he had never been before. So, in spite of the fact that he swore to be faithful, to live and die for the King, to hold to him even against his brother,[1] in spite of the King's love and confidence again bestowed, he began to meditate further treason.

Edward remained in London throughout July—visiting the ports on the Kentish coast and taking some slight precautions against a new invasion of his enemies.[2] But he needed and was to have another and more bitter lesson before he lost the fatal trustfulness and easy self-confidence that had betrayed him before. The moment Warwick fled he despised him. For the Earl's military abilities he had the greatest contempt.[3] He was able to prevent the fugitives being admitted to Calais, though the Governor, Lord Wenlock, gave only an outward obedience to his orders.[4] He had written to Charles of Burgundy, who rejoiced at the fall of the man who not only was in his eyes the chief cause of the

[1] Chastellain, v, p. 500.

[2] He seized Warwick's ships and took the Wardenship of the Cinque Ports into his own hands. Royal Comm. on Hist. Docs., Report 6, p. 524.

[3] Chastellain, v, p. 486.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 488, Commines, i, pp. 184-5.

misfortunes of the Lancastrian house, but had also incurred his lasting enmity by his friendship with King Louis and determined opposition to Edward's friendship for himself. He sent at once to King Louis to prevent him helping Warwick,[1] who had seized and plundered Dutch and Burgundian vessels in the Channel. Louis said he could and would help his friend. This news was discomfiting to Edward; but he and Charles of Burgundy used every effort to keep Calais faithful,[2] while the latter began at once to fit out a fleet to keep the Channel against Warwick, and even seized some French vessels in revenge for his depredations. Louis had been at first perplexed by the arrival of his friend, but as the situation gradually developed, he saw in it great possibilities. He could not refuse to entertain the Earl when he was already in France, in spite of the fact that Charles of Burgundy was thundering threats and remonstrances and demanding revenge and recompense for the piratical demeanour of Warwick. To these remonstrances he listened and even offered some pecuniary compensation for the Duke's losses; meanwhile he pressed forward a plot after his own heart, which was nothing less than to bring together the two bodies of discontent, two parties irreconcilably at enmity with Edward—the Lancastrians and the followers of Warwick and Clarence. But an alliance between Warwick and Lancaster seemed unthinkable. Rivers of blood flowed between them. How could it be? Nevertheless the alliance was made and Warwick's treason was complete. We have seen that he had used Lancastrian feeling

Warwick and the Lancastrians come together.

[1] Grafton, II, p. 22.
[2] Commines, I, p. 185.

in England for his own purposes, but had not gone so far as to adopt their creed and claims; there had never yet been the need for such an extreme step. Every instinct, tradition, family and personal allegiance, every sentiment of honour and loyalty, to say nothing of safety, made it unthinkable. But as a Yorkist he had played and lost. Now when it meant extinction or the discovery of a new way, various events of the past were remembered and all pointed one way. There were still districts of England where loyalty to the Red Rose was strong and fresh: the North was constantly disaffected, Wales was always Lancastrian, Devonshire was burning with hatred for the man who had executed its old rulers. The Lincolnshire men had cried for "King Harry"—so had the men of Holderness; the Earl of Oxford had come to join him in France with assurances of the feeling in East Anglia.

So from consideration the thing passed to necessity. Margaret came and Warwick humbled himself before her: but the alliance was made. King Henry should be restored; his gallant young son, Edward, should marry Anne Neville, Warwick's daughter.[1] As for Clarence, whom Warwick had used as a tool, he must be satisfied with the reversion of the Crown if Henry's heirs failed; he should have large rewards of land—all he had ever had and the Duchy of York besides. Clarence had been valuable, but the Lancastrians and the French were more so. So thought the Earl of Warwick. Clarence himself thought otherwise. He had been, almost all the time since leaving England, in correspondence with King Edward through a

Treachery of Clarence.

[1] See Chron. White Rose for "Manner and Guiding of the Earl of Warwick at Angiers," p. 229.

lady attached to the suite of his Duchess, who had passed to them through Calais.[1] His allegiance to the Earl had brought little profit—it wanted but this cool shelving of his claims to decide him to abandon his father-in-law at the first opportunity. King Louis, realising that Warwick was now wholly his, was anxious for him to be gone and win him England. Troops and ships and money were forthcoming, and the Earl had followed his own precedent of distracting Edward's attention by raising a disturbance in the North.

Carelessness of Edward.

That monarch's conduct is almost inexplicable. He bore himself with careless ease and returned to the pleasures from which only immediate danger could woo him. The Duke of Burgundy spared no pains to impress him with the gravity of the danger that the reconciliation of Warwick and the Lancastrians threatened.[2] He even tried to induce Edward to send Henry VI from England to his custody. One Antony de Lameth had a caravel in the Thames, which might be brought to the Tower, and Henry put on board of it.[3] With the man in whose name the coming fight was to be waged a prisoner in Burgundy, the rebels would be checkmated. Edward considered the scheme. But from the fatal dilatoriness which seems to have been the reaction from his exertions in the early part of the year, nothing was done. An interesting complication would certainly have ensued, but Henry VI was at best a poor figure-head, and the name of Edward of Wales would probably have made an equally strong appeal to all Lancastrian sympathisers.

[1] Commines, i, p. 189.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 190.
[3] Chastellain, v, p. 488 *seq.*

Edward laughed at the fears and precautions of Duke Charles. "Let him but land," he said, "and then I shall have nothing to fear."[1] The state of opinion in England was bad. The name of the exiled Earl became more and more popular. His absence made him the more desired; he was the hero of every ballad and song. Men remembered his mighty deeds of days gone by, and recalled the sequel to a former exile. Treason was in the air. Edward could not believe that Warwick and Margaret would come to agreement: but he took some steps to counteract attempts in that direction by himself offering his daughter's hand to the Prince of Wales, to whom it is said he intended to give the Duchy of Lancaster.[2] He relied, too, on the jealousy of Clarence to defeat such a scheme. But the negotiations of his enemies went forward to success and the ground was shaking under his feet. Suddenly arrived the news that the Lord Fitzhugh was up in rebellion in the North, and that the Earl of Northumberland was not strong enough to put him down.[3] Once more the King was recalled from his enervating sense of security. "Being in this anguish and trouble,"[4] he sent for his feedmen and started again for the North, Fitzhugh withdrawing before him. Edward reached York and there lingered in perplexity. Rumours of the coming of Warwick and Clarence reached him. Devonshire had again welcomed a Courtenay;[5] all was ready for the

The rising of Lord Fitzhugh.

[1] Commines, i, p. 290.
[2] "Chron. White Rose," p. 232.
[3] Beverley paid for archers for the Earl of Northumberland on August 4th. See Report Royal Comm., Vol. IV, MSS. of Beverley.
[4] Hearne's "Fragment," p. 305.
[5] "Paston Letters," v, p. 80.

invasion. On September 7th Edward knew the extent of the danger and wrote from York to his friends in the South that "our ancient enemies of France, and our outward rebels and traitors be drawn together in accord," and intend hastily to land in Kent or the neighbourhood "with great might and power of Frenchmen." He instructed them all to be ready to proceed to Kent or wherever the Lancastrian landing might take place. Failing that they were to concentrate on London, "by which time we trust to be there in our person, or nearly."[1]

Landing of Warwick and Clarence.

In a few days a storm drove the ships which the Duke of Burgundy had sent to watch the Lancastrians up the North Sea. Warwick and Clarence, on September 13th, were again on English soil. The Lancastrians landed in various detachments at Exmouth, Dartmouth and Plymouth. Proclamations had preceded them and had been placarded in London, "on the Standard in the Chepe and on the Stulpes of London Bridge,"[2] and on Church doors, and in other places in England. The exiles spoke of their own hard treatment—their affection for Crown and Commons.[3] Royal favourites are again denounced. Inordinate impositions, cruel and detestable tyranny are referred to, and the authors declare that they come to punish the oppressors, "to set right and justice in their places, to see them equally ministered and indifferently—to reduce and redeem for ever the said realm from thraldom of all outward nations, and make it as free within

[1] "Paston Letters," p, 83.
[2] Stowe, "Chron. White Rose," p. 234.
[3] See "Chron. White Rose," p. 235.

itself as ever it was heretofore." They call for the help of God and the saints, "and every true Englishman dreading God, loving his realm and the weal of his neighbours."

Nothing was said about King Henry; that was reserved for another proclamation when the landing was safely accomplished, and the reports of friends and the arrival of large numbers of sympathisers rendered it advisable. Then the contemplated change was made known. Edward was proclaimed "late the Earl of Marche, usurper, oppressor, destroyer of our said Sovereign Lord King Harry the Sixth, very true undoubted King of England and of France." The Lancastrian army grew rapidly and in a few days set forward to encounter King Edward. That monarch was still in the North. When he heard of the first of their proclamations he wrote to Clarence and Warwick: "Brother (Cousin) we have been informed how ye have laboured, contrary to natural kindness and duty of allegiance, divers matters of great poise, and also how Proclamations have been made in your name and of our cousin of Warwick, to assemble our liege people, no mention made of us . . . . Howbeit, we will not forget that to us appertaineth, and that is to call you to your declaration in the same, and to receive you thereunto if ye will come, as it fitteth a liegeman to come to his sovereign lord in humble wise; and if ye so do, indifference and equity shall be by us well remembered, and so as no reasonable man, godly disposed, shall more think, but that we shall intreat you according to your nighness of blood and our laws."[1] He orders them to leave their forces and come to him—otherwise "we must proceed,

Edward summons the rebels to him.

[1] Halliwell, i, p. 135.

that we were loath to do, to the punishment of you, to the grevious example of all other our subjects," and the blood shed be on your heads!

Still he did not doubt his strength and power to defeat them. He sent word to the Duke of Burgundy that he knew how to deal with his enemies by land, and begged him to intercept[1] them if they tried to escape again by sea. The rebel army drew nearer. The King was expecting forces to join him, apparently at Doncaster, under the Marquis of Montagu; they tarried, and sinister reports began to arrive. Finally he heard that they were approaching. One morning he was still abed when Alexander Carlisle, "that was serjeant of the minstrels," came to him in great haste, with the intelligence that enemies were near at hand coming to seize him.[2] The King marvelled: Master Alexander Lee "suddenly upon that" came with the same report. Still the King could not believe the news. He sent out messengers to see what was meant, and they returned with the astounding intelligence that Montagu, "whom he loved entirely," had turned traitor. The Marquis had sounded his troops, who declared themselves ready to follow him where he would. "By St. Thomas, then, I am for Henry of Lancaster, King of England; and so I will maintain and take up his quarrel,"[3] said the Marquis. He would take Edward if he could, for he had cheated him and taken his earldom and given him instead a marquisate "and a pye's nest to maintain his estate with." His troops took up the cry, "à King Harry and à Warwick."

Montagu deserts the King.

[1] Commines, i, p. 190.
[2] For this see Hearne's "Fragment," p. 306.
[3] Chastellain, v, p. 500. See Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 47.

Flight of King Edward.

The King had taken long to convince of his helplessness—there was no time for resistance. He took to horse, and with his faithful followers rode off across country to the port of King's Lynn. Some ships with provisions were there, intended as a refuge for Warwick in case of defeat,[1] and two Dutch merchantmen. Hastily embarking as many as could be accommodated the King took leave of those who must remain behind, saying he had to fly, but vowing he would return. Let them make terms with the conquerors and wait for a better day.[2] Then across the North Sea the little squadron sailed. With the King were his brother Richard and Lords Hastings, Rivers and Say. New danger arose. The merchants of the Hanseatic League, owing to a quarrel of two years before, were at war with England and France, and some of their ships espied the little fleet and chased it to the port of Alkmaar; a low tide only saved Edward from capture. The pursuing vessels were of greater draught and must wait until the tide should float them in. Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse, since 1463 Governor of Holland, Zeeland and Frisia, was, most fortunately for Edward, at that time at Alkmaar, and heard with amazement whom the English vessels contained. He came down to meet the arrivals and induced the hostile ships to abandon their contemplated capture. He received, when he landed, the King of England, an exile.[3]

To such a pitch of destitution was Edward reduced

[1] Wavrin-Dupont, *ut supra.*
[2] Chastellain, v, p. 500.
[3] See "Recherches sur Louis de Bruges," Van Praet, 1831, pp. 6-12.

that he could not reward the master of the vessel that had been his refuge but by the gift of his own gown, lined with marten's fur, and by promises of further favours when he should be able to give them.[1]

In England the report ran that Edward was dead[2] —a fact which doubtless induced many who would have resisted Warwick to lay down their arms and make their peace. The same news reached the Duke of Burgundy who, in the bitterness of plans overthrown and disregarded advice, was glad of it. "I am not less the Duke of Burgundy," he remarked.[3] Calais, within an hour of the receipt of the news of Warwick's success, had mounted the Red Rose everywhere. King Louis hugged himself for joy; the news was pleasant "as if he bathed himself in roses."[4] Festivals and holidays for three days signalized his success all over France. When, indeed, was a King of England brought so low? Without Louis de Bruges it is difficult to imagine what would have happened to Edward. This nobleman had formed, during a visit to England in 1466, a personal friendship for the King which he now loyally showed. From October 9th to December 26th he entertained the exiled monarch and his friends at the Hague, with a magnificence almost worthy of the guest's former high position. One of the most cultured men of his time, a great patron of literature, he had a large staff of workmen at Bruges and Gand who were constantly at work transcribing, illuminating and binding manuscripts. He had a library of them in his own house, and Edward

Effect of the news in France and Burgundy.

Edward in exile.

[1] Commines, i, p. 194.
[2] Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 47, *et seq.*
[3] Brugiére de Barante, "Histoires des Ducs de Bourgogne," Vol. IX, p. 309.
[4] Chastellain, v, p. 4.

seems to have found time to acquire an interest in the work, and a desire to possess some himself. He eventually ordered several, and in the British Museum to-day are to be seen two, "Le quart volume de l'histoire scolastique continant le livre de Tobie," with many beautiful miniatures, "which book was made at Bruges by command of King Edward IV, in 1470." Later he acquired from the same source "La grande histoire de Cesar."

With such amusements the King beguiled some of the hours of his exile: but there was enough to occupy his thoughts in plans for the future. He wasted no time in vain regrets or despair. From the moment of leaving England he set himself to prepare for his return. As usual, quite calm and philosophic in misfortune, he had no idea of accepting his present position as the last word of Fate. He had made mistakes and knew it: but treachery had ruined him and he intended that it should never do so again. He had many friends in England; among others probably, Clarence was soon in communication with him. Matters had not proceeded to that prince's entire satisfaction, as Edward well knew.

But Edward soon discovered that he must be prepared to risk much. His arrival had caused extreme embarrassment to the Duke of Burgundy; Henry VI on the throne again with the all-powerful Warwick in power meant the end of his schemes against France. The Lancastrians made every effort to prevent Charles giving any substantial support to King Edward. In public he agreed with them, and declared the Yorkists his enemies. But in private he approved of the action of Louis de Bruges in receiving the King. King Louis had begun hostilities

against Burgundy, declaring himself no longer bound by the Treaty of Peronne; even Brittany seemed likely to join in the attack.

Has an interview with the Duke of Burgundy.

In these circumstances, it seemed to Charles that Edward might be useful, and he was allowed to visit him. On December 26th Louis de Bruges conducted his guest to d'Aerdenbourg. The next day they arrived at the château de Gruthuyse, a league from Bruges, whence two days later Edward proceeded to Aire in Artois, where his sister Margaret met him. She was working hard on his behalf—not only with her husband but in England also. The Duke of Clarence was her favourite brother, and she was unremitting in her efforts to bring him to an understanding with Edward whose return to his kingdom he could so greatly facilitate.[1] On January 2nd he reached St. Pol and was received by the Duke Charles, a man of iron, utterly free from the sensuality and self-indulgence which marred his brother-in-law's character; he did not scruple to upbraid him with his ignominious failure. His disregard of advice, his indolence, his stupidity were pointed out with such vehemence of feeling that never again could the two men feel real friendship for each other. Edward, recalling their relationship and alliance, and the fact that they were brethren of the same orders,[2] begged for help. The Lancastrian influence was very strong. Publicly the Duke continued to disavow him, and forbade his subjects to help him. Privately he explained that circumstances made public recognition and assistance impossible. But a gift of 50,000 florins, some 5,000,000

[1] See Arrival of Edward IV, p. 10.

[2] Edward had been elected to the Order of the Golden Fleece and Charles to that of the Garter in 1468.

francs of present money, showed that he still had faith in Edward's abilities and good luck. With this Edward returned to Bruges, which he reached on January 13th, 1471, and took up his abode at the Hotel de la Gruthuyse until February 19th. He had written on January 9th to Duke Francis of Brittany, saying that doubtless he had heard of his misfortunes and the treason which had undone him: but he had every hope of the help of "divers princes my friends and allies, and also of my loyal subjects" to regain his throne. He begs his friend, "the one of the princes of the world in whom I have always had the greatest trust," to give credence to Jacques de Luxemburg (uncle of Elizabeth Woodville), who would write and send to him as to the means of helping forward his plans for re-establishing his power in England.[1]

In February rumours began to circulate that Edward was about to move. Lord Scales had been trying to get the authorities of Bruges to lend vessels for the attempt, and some German ships had already been obtained. A loan was raised in Calais.[2]

Preparations to invade England.

On the 19th of February Edward set out for Zeeland. A fleet of eighteen vessels had been got together, partly by the aid of the Duke of Burgundy. Louis de Bruges accompanied his guest and even intimated his willingness to share the dangers of his expedition. The people of Bruges were out in crowds to get a last sight of the King. Edward was touched by this lively sympathy, and wishing to give them every satisfaction, went on foot to Damme instead of by boat along the canal as had been arranged, that all might see him.

[1] See Brit. Mus. Facsimiles of Royal Historical Autographs, 1897, Series I, p. 3.

[2] Rymer, xi, p. 792.

On March 2nd the English force embarked, numbering probably about 1,200 men,[1] " which included 300 foreign auxiliaries armed with hand-guns." The wind was contrary, but the force remained on board until the 11th, when in a favouring breeze sails were hoisted, and Edward set out for his supreme adventure.

[1] See Arrival of Edward IV, notes. Cont. Croy. says: " 1,500 Englishmen." Fabyan: " small company of Flemings and others not exceeding 1,000." Polydore Vergil: " scarcely 2,000 men at arms." Warkworth: " 900 English and 300 Flemings."

CHAPTER X

EDWARD, WARWICK AND LANCASTER—THE FINAL SCENE

Causes of the fall of Henry VI and Edward IV.

A CONTEMPORARY chronicler[1] thus remarks on the restoration of Henry VI and the causes of Edward's unpopularity. When King Henry "was put out of his realm by King Edward, all England, for the most part hated him, and were full glad to have a change; and the cause was the good Duke of Gloucester was put to death, and John Holland, Duke of Exeter, poisoned, and that the Duke of Suffolk, the Lord Say, Daniel Trevylian, and other mischievous people that were about the King, were so covetous towards themselves, and did no force of the King's honour, nor of his weal, nor of the common weal of the land, where King Harry trusted to them that they should do, and labour in time of innocence ever for the common weal, which they did contrary to his will; and also France, Normandy, Gascoigne and Guienne, was lost in his time. And these were the causes, with others, that made the people to grudge against him, and all because of his false lords and never of him: and the common people said, if they might have another king, he should get all again, and amend all manner of things that was amiss, and bring the realm of England in great prosperity and rest. Nevertheless, when King Edward the Fourth reigned, the people looked after all the foresaid prosperities, and peace, but it came not: but one battle after another,

[1] Warkworth, "Chron. White Rose," pp. 118-9.

and much trouble and great loss of goods among the common people; at first the tenth of all their goods, and then a whole fifteenth, and yet at every battle (they had) to come far out (of) their countries at their own cost; and these and other (causes) brought England right low, and many men said that King Edward had much blame for hurting merchandise, for in his days they were not in other lands, nor within England, taken in such reputation and credence as they were before."

This is perhaps a fair representation of the popular view. That of the nobility is probably given in the words which a later chronicler puts into the mouth of the Earl of Warwick: "I think it will come to pass, that either he will destroy all nobility, or else the nobility must destroy him."[1]

In the strange mixture of personal and political motives which dictated the policies of the leaders of both sides, a consciousness of these things may have had a part. Edward had set himself to rule by his own authority, based on a popularity with the middle and lower classes, supported by a nobility dependent on himself. But he had not yet learnt that for success he must play the part of a popular despot to the full. Not until he recognised that he could not tax the people, accepting the constitutional position the granting of these taxes implied, and at the same time take a course depending only on his own will, though professedly interpreting the will of the people, could his policy be translated into effective government.

If the reasons recounted above were those which lay behind the movement which had restored King

[1] See Polydore Vergil, p. 119.

Henry, the immediate causes of the success of Warwick's invasion were simple. They are thus recounted by an acute foreign observer of the time.[1] Warwick had great popularity with the London mob, which he had consistently flattered and courted for years. His wardenship of the Cinque Ports secured him a constant following among the mariners, and kept a gate open in England for him. He had money ties with many of the merchants which made them anxious for the safety of his person. The presence with him of the Duke of Clarence, who seems to have shared the good looks and affable demeanour of his brother, was of real assistance.

The new Lancastrian Government, under Warwick, had shown conspicuous moderation towards its opponents. The only execution of note was that of "the Butcher" Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester. The Queen, who had taken sanctuary at Westminster early in October with her daughters and the Duchess of Bedford, was not only not molested, but was allowed the attendance of Lady Scrope, and payments were made from the Exchequer on her behalf.[2] In the first week of November she gave birth to a son, Edward, an event of the greatest importance for the future. The returned Lancastrian nobles entered anew into their estates, and at a Parliament which met on November 26th, Edward was declared traitor and usurper, his goods and those of his friends declared forfeit, his Statutes reversed, and the Crown settled on Henry and his heirs male, failing which the succession was to go to Clarence and his

[1] O. de la Marche, iii, pp. 68-9.

[2] See *English Historical Review*. Article by Cora L. Schofield, January, 1909, p. 90.

heirs.[1] The latter was to receive the promised dukedom and estates of York. Montagu, professing that he had only simulated friendship with King Edward through fear, was pardoned, but his earldom was not restored to him. The country as a whole seemed to settle down to the new state of things; though there were disturbances in places in favour of the exiled King.

Weakness of the Lancastrians' position.

But nevertheless in Warwick's position there were serious causes of weakness. As before, he had gone too far. Numbers who had flocked to his standard had done so in admiration of his person, in compassion for his fall, "not so much joining him as waiting upon him to show him every attention."[2] A reaction soon began. The presence of many Yorkist leaders in sanctuary had a weakening effect on the Lancastrian Government. The solid commercial classes of the capital, to whom Edward had shown great affability and consideration, regretted him; his courtesies to their women folk had won him their championship with their husbands;[3] moreover, the constant menace of the loss of the Flemish trade, the feeling that they were being dragged at the bidding of the French King to war with Burgundy—the great market for their goods—alienated them from the Earl. Money ties acted for Edward just as they had for Warwick. The misfortune of a ruler who has gained his position by the forces of disorder is that he can only retain it by perpetuating disorder. Warwick found himself obliged to sanction lawlessness. As Master of the Cinque Ports he allowed foreigners

[1] See Lansdowne MS., 511, folio 71.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 462.
[3] Commines, i, p. 200.

to be pillaged without redress[1]—trade suffered accordingly and the support of the better class interests was lost. Insecurity was still the prevailing feeling—all with anything to fear, who were able to do so, took sanctuary or fled the country.

But there was another and more certain cause of weakness still—treachery from within. There is no doubt that many of the Yorkists were soon in correspondence with their friends abroad: among these the Duke of Clarence, with whom honour weighed not at all, was preparing, and probably had been doing so for months previously, to abandon the Earl. We are told that their mother, Cecily, Duchess of York, their sisters Anne, Duchess of Exeter, and Elizabeth, Duchess of Suffolk had used every means to bring the brothers again to accord. Cardinal Bourchier and the Earl of Essex had been active in the same behalf. There seemed to Clarence nothing to be gained by adhering to Warwick: the throne was obviously lost to him, he was irritated by the subordinate position assigned to him by the new Government. Warwick had been made "Ruler and Governor"—but Clarence was merely "associated with him as Fellow and Companion."[2] It would be as well anyhow to keep in with both parties. From later events we gather that Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, was in the secret of Edward's intentions: and mindful of the favours he had lately received had promised at least neutrality in the event of his coming—a point of much importance considering the power of the Percies in the North.

Rumours of Edward's approaching invasion became

[1] Chastellain, v, p. 488; O. de la Marche, iii, pp. 68-9.
[2] Lansdowne MS., 511, f. 71.

current early in 1471.[1] On March 12th he touched at Cromer and landed a few of his followers: but finding the district too strongly held for Henry by the retainers of the Earl of Oxford he set sail again. One chronicler asserts that the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Rochester had men in vessels on the coast watching for his coming, who went to him on board and told him of the state of feeling in Norfolk.[2] Accordingly the little squadron put out again for the North, and on the 24th encountered a storm which scattered the vessels over a distance of thirty-four miles. The King, however, with Lord Hastings and 500 men, managed to put in at Ravenspur inside Spurn Head, where seventy-two years before Henry of Bolingbroke had landed, and there they disembarked. Gloucester and Rivers came ashore further north the same day. The King slept the night in a "poor village," two miles inland, where the next morning the other companies joined him. The district of Holderness was one of the strongholds of the Lancastrian party, and the people kept carefully aloof from the invaders.

Landing of King Edward at Ravenspur.

But Edward was not personally unpopular even there, and upon his proclaiming that he came, after the precedent of Henry IV, to claim only his right, the Duchy of York, they did not attempt to molest him. The nearest way to London and the South, where lay the enemy that he must meet, was through Lincolnshire. But any note of indecision would

[1] The principal authority for this Chapter is "The Historie of the arrival of King Edward IV" (Camden Soc., 1838), a contemporary official narrative by one of Edward's followers. It was translated, with some slight differences, by Wavrin and incorporated in his Chronicle.

[2] So Wavrin.

have been fatal to his plans. So Edward, determining to give no sign of withdrawing, such as a re-embarkation to cross the Humber might have seemed, decided to move boldly towards York. Some resistance was organising under a priest, John Westerdale, and a gentleman named Martin de la Mere. The King is reported to have met Westerdale soon after landing, and to have shown him a letter from the Earl of Northumberland advising his return to claim the Duchy of York.[1] As he marched on towards York various parties were in his way, but none dared to withstand him, and some of their leaders were induced by gifts and promises, to keep still. Accordingly he proceeded to Beverley and sent to Hull demanding admittance to the town, which was refused. Nothing daunted, on March 18th he appeared before York, where the Recorder, Thomas Conyers, refused to allow him to enter the city walls. Negotiations were entered into with the authorities, and finally Edward was allowed to address the people within the gates, where he affirmed his readiness to accept Henry as King—vowing, even, according to some, on the Sacrament (though this is probably a slander of later times[2])—that he had no desire to be King again, and would never have taken it upon him except by "the exciting and stirring of the Earl of Warwick." He ended his speech by shouting "à King Harry, à King and Prince Edward" and donning the livery of the Prince.[3] This atrocious perjury is recorded, though not in the fullest detail, in the King's own official account of his return. It

Edward at York.

[1] Warkworth, p. 121.
[2] Polydore Vergil, p. 138; Holinshed, p. 303.
[3] Warkworth, p. 122.

was regarded as an act of ordinary policy and diplomacy, and there is no hint of shame or regret—a striking indication of the political and private morality of the times.

That night the King and his little force remained in York, where they were refreshed by food and rest: though precautions had to be taken against an outbreak of the people,[1] and Richard of Gloucester and Rivers urged Edward to seize the leaders of the party opposed to him.[2] The deciding factor in the city in favour of Edward was probably the knowledge of the connivance of the Earl of Northumberland, which was to do him greater service when next day, after dinner, he left York and proceeded to Tadcaster, very near the scene of his former triumph at Towton.

Reasons for Montagu's inaction.

At Pontefract lay the Marquis of Montagu, with a force, as far as can be ascertained, more than equal to the task of crushing the small body of the invaders when they landed. But he had made no movement, and Edward's force had now grown to dimensions that would have necessitated a pitched battle if he was to be routed: he was a great soldier, his men picked men, fighters, desperate, with all to win and nothing to lose. What delayed Montagu at first is one of the mysteries of this perplexing period. Whether he was again meditating a change of sides and hoped that, if he allowed Edward to pass, his brother would be beaten and the matter settled before he should be called upon to join him; whether the knowledge that the Earl of Northumberland was consenting to Edward's invasion alarmed him; whether for the moment his old friendship and Edward's love overcame his brother's influence,

[1] Hall, p. 289. [2] So Wavrin, p. 647.

which again asserted itself in the moment of that brother's peril; whether he found that the people of the neighbourhood would refuse to follow him against Edward, thinking that he came only to claim his inheritance—a report which was sedulously spread as he advanced—no one can say. The King's followers seem to have attributed the whole success up to this point of their expedition to the Earl of Northumberland, who, by remaining still, left some in perplexity and some in confidence that all would be well, and called on none for a decision which would have been hard to make. Every hour unmolested bred further security for Edward, as none liked to be the first to rise against him. The fact remains that at Pontefract Montagu stayed, and allowed Edward to pass by four miles from him. Edward had decided to leave Pontefract on the left and advance by Wakefield and Sandal. At Wakefield and Doncaster some supporters joined him. At Nottingham, where he arrived on March 23rd, Sir John Harrington and Sir William Parr brought in 600 men to swell his force.

Movements of the Lancastrian Government.

The Government of Henry VI had taken every possible measure to raise forces to meet the invader. Those of the Eastern Counties were ordered to assemble at Bury and march for Newark to meet the Earl of Oxford.[1] Warwick left London to call out his Warwickshire retainers, on the 22nd, leaving the unfortunate King in charge of the Archbishop of York. It is probable that he got an urgent message through to Montagu, for that nobleman began to move slowly from the North. One of Warwick's letters, written on the 25th, is in existence, that to Henry Vernon of Haddon, in which he speaks of

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 94.

"Edward, our sovereign lord's great enemy, rebel and traitor," asserting that his force of Flemings, Easterlings and Danes numbered no more than 2,000, and that the people of the country were not joining him in his march. A postscript in his own hand shows that his anxiety was acute: "Henry, I pray you ffayle me not now, as ever I may do for you."[1]

Meanwhile the East Anglian levies had arrived at Newark, but, feeling in insufficient strength to face the King, their leaders, the Duke of Exeter and the Earl of Oxford, retreated from the town; the King marched out against them at once on hearing of their presence at Newark, but was too late to catch them. Returned to Nottingham, he determined, now his flank was clear, to march straight against the Earl of Warwick. Marching by Leicester, where he was joined by a large and excellent troop of the retainers of Lord Hastings, he arrived before Coventry on March 29th. The Earl had by this time perceived that he had to contend with treachery within his party. The levies of Clarence tarried, and he suspected the cause.[2] Accordingly he shut himself up with his troops in Coventry. The King challenged him to come out and fight, remaining ready for battle for three days. But the Earl steadily refusing to leave the town, the King proceeded to Warwick—where he threw off all disguise and openly proclaimed himself King.[3] Messengers arrived from the Earl,

[1] See Oman's "Warwick," pp. 221-222, quoting Hist. MSS., Comm. MSS. of Duke of Rutland, pp. 3 and 4.

[2] So Grafton ii, p. 35; Warkworth, p. 122, says the Earl "had a letter from Clarence, that he should not fight, till he came himself."

[3] So Letter of Margaret of Burgundy, Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 210. Warkworth, p. 122, implies that he took this step earlier.

asking for terms, but his demands were unreasonable and "might not in any wise stand with the King's honour and surety."

Clarence's treachery. He is reconciled to the King.

The Duke of Clarence was about to consummate his treachery. He had early information of Edward's approach and arrival and was watching the demeanour of the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Stanley to see which way they would incline in the coming struggle. On March 23rd he had written from Wells to Henry Vernon of Haddon to send as many men as he could. From Malmesbury, on March 30th, from Burford on April 2nd he sent renewed requests for men, men at once, as many as possible, to meet him by Banbury.[1] With the troops he had raised in the West, and those who joined him from the North he had a considerable army. Edward, hearing of his approach, marched out of Warwick towards Banbury, near which town the two armies came in sight of each other. The King arrayed his troops with banners flying as if for a fight: but the sequel had been arranged, and it was not a battle. Taking Richard of Gloucester, Lord Rivers, Lord Hastings and others he went forward towards his brother's army—the Duke on his part leaving his troops and coming to meet him. They met between the hosts, and Clarence knelt before Edward, who raised him and kissed him.[2] The two groups mixed and entered into friendly conversation. Clarence's men were at once ordered to don Edward's livery, the Rose, though they had not had time to discard the emblems of his enemy.[3] "Then the trumpets and

[1] See Hist. MSS. Comm. ,MSS. of Duke of Rutland, *ut supra*.
[2] Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 210.
[3] "Paston Letters," v, p. 96.

minstrels blew-up" and the King brought Clarence back to the royal troops. Nothing could be more pleasant than the behaviour of the two brothers to each other as they returned with the united host to Warwick. Clarence, unabashed by his open treachery, at once attempted the part of a mediator between his brother and the Earl of Warwick. The latter, however, was of a different stuff from his son-in-law and scornfully refused his offers, thanking God "he was not that traitor Duke." He must have recognised that there could now be no life such as he would think worth living unless he could defeat the King: the old Lancastrian nobles, too, were determined to fight it out. Oxford and Exeter had now arrived at Coventry after a short engagement with a company of Edward's men near Leicester, and Montagu drew near.

Edward marches on London.

The King, unable to provoke his adversaries to battle, determined on another bold stroke—to march on London. On April 5th he left Warwick. The next day, Saturday, he reached Daventry, where he stayed two days. On Sunday morning, Palm Sunday, he attended service in the Parish Church "with great devotion." In his troubles he is said to have prayed often and invoked the aid of the saints, especially St. Anne, to whom he had vowed that when he next saw her image he would make his prayers and offering in her honour. Coming in procession to the rood screen of the church he knelt there, when the covering of a little image of St. Anne fixed to a pillar, then covered, as were all the other images in the Church, it being Lent, with boards, burst open and the image stood open and discovered. "The King thanked and honoured God and St. Anne, taking it for a good

sign." Encouraged by this miracle he marched on to Northampton; then leaving a force to mask his rear, in case Warwick should follow closely on his steps, he arrived at St. Albans on April 9th. The Earl of Warwick had sent letters to London begging the authorities to prevent Edward's entrance, as he was coming up to fall on his rear. The Archbishop of York, on the 9th, paraded Henry, utterly unnerved by his new misfortunes, through the City, "which sight as much pleasured the citizens as a fire painted on the wall warmed the old woman."[1] The six or seven hundred troops raised to resist Edward were quite insufficient for the purpose. A large proportion of the citizens was strongly in his favour. All idea of resistance was abandoned, and the authorities prepared to admit Edward. The Archbishop of York, never one to fight in a hopeless cause, sent messages to his cousin asking to be admitted to grace and promising good service, a request which Edward thought it advisable to grant. We gather that the condition attached to the grant of his pardon was that he should keep King Henry from taking sanctuary.[2] The Tower was seized by Yorkists on the night of the 10th and on Thursday, 11th, Edward entered the City, from which he had set out to reduce Lord Fitzhugh's rebellion eight months before. Much had happened in those eight months. He proceeded at once to St. Paul's where he "offered" at the Rood at the North door, and from thence to the Bishop's Palace where he found King Henry and the Archbishop of York. Edward held out his hand to his miserable rival who "came and embraced him saying

[1] Grafton ii, p. 36.
[2] Warkworth, p. 137.

'My cousin of York, right welcome; I take it that my life will not be in danger at your hands.'"[1] Edward answered that he need have no anxiety and might be of good cheer. The Archbishop was full of excuses—he had never been against Edward, and had consented to Warwick's invasion in ignorance of the contemplated Lancastrian restoration. The King put both Henry and the Archbishop in custody, though he had an understanding with the latter, who was liberated and allowed to betake himself to his palace at Langley after some days.[2]

Edward in London.

Edward then went by boat to Westminster, where the Archbishop of Canterbury, Cardinal Bourchier, "upon his head the crown did set, the sceptre in his hand without intrumpcioun or lett."[3] Thus, the King came to his own again; then it was the man who went to greet his wife after her weary months in sanctuary. She gave to his arms Edward, their son; the father's feelings must have been deeply stirred. He at once conducted his Queen and children to apartments in Baynard's Castle, where his mother lived. There he remained for the night and throughout the next day—Good Friday—hearing Divine Service and consulting his council as to the next step. The three Bourchier brothers, the Archbishop, the Earl of Essex and Lord Berners were already busy collecting and arming the men for the battle that could not be delayed.

It was, according to a poem of the time, in chastened mood that Edward approached the final arbitrament of battle: "I promis the Good Lord,

[1] Wavrin-Dupont, iii, p. 211.
[2] See "Paston Letters," v, p. 99.
[3] Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," p. 271, v. 13.

my lyffe to amende—I knowledge me a sinner wrappid in woe"[1] was the burden of his prayer. Public opinion had attributed his misfortunes to divine chastisement; "haply that trowbill was for wickyd lyvyng."[2]

The forces of Warwick drew near. The Earl hoped that the Easter solemnities would have delayed the King's preparations: but Edward was in his soldier mood and therefore at his best. Courage, decision, strategy, all the instincts of a military commander were fully roused. He determined to encounter Warwick outside London. A force had arrived from the Eastern Counties on Good Friday, and with those he had brought with him, which included 300 "smoky gunners,"[3] he felt strong enough for the fight. Every moment was important; Warwick's army was the larger and reinforcements would reach him unless he were crushed at once. On Saturday, April 13th, Edward set out, taking Henry in his company, and that evening reached Barnet, out of which his vanguard had driven the forerriders of the enemy in the afternoon. Knowing that everything depended on his being ready to fight at the first opportunity, he kept his men under arms and did not allow them to pass the night in the town. He determined to place his own troops in such a position that a fight should be inevitable next day. It was pitch dark when he led them out, and not knowing the exact position of the enemy, he drew up with his right wing extending beyond the Lancastrian left, while their right similarly overlapped his left—a fact which neither party knew

Edward marches out against Warwick.

[1] Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," p. 271, v. 17.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. 3.
[3] Holinshed, p. 310.

till the next day: but Edward was much closer to his opponents than they thought he was, a fact which stood him in good stead. All night long Warwick's artillery pounded away at the supposed position of the Royal troops, but "overshot them"; Edward kept his host as quiet as possible, only answering the bombardment by "right few" guns in order that the Lancastrians should not learn his exact position.

The Battle of Barnet, April 14th, 1471.

Sunrise on Easter Sunday, April 14th, was obscured by a thick mist: but as soon as there was light sufficient to render movement possible the King gave the word to advance to the fight and set on his enemies "first with shot, and then, and soon, they joined and came to hand strokes." The King's left, commanded by Lord Hastings, outflanked and overpowered by the opposing right under the Earl of Oxford, was soon driven from the field towards Barnet—fugitives pouring into London with tidings of the King's defeat. This local success had not the effect for encouragement or discouragement that might have been expected. The fog was still so thick that neither side was conscious of what had occurred. The King's right wing was in the meantime executing a similar manœuvre. Richard of Gloucester, outflanking the division commanded by the Duke of Exeter and the great Earl himself, pressed it back on the centre, turning it from its original front as he did so. Edward, in charge of his centre, had attacked the opposing centre, which, pressed by its left, found itself swung into the place of its vanished right, and facing Edward, who had thus worked round to a new front. The King, keeping together a body of kindred spirits animated by his courage and "well assured unto him as to them was possible," was able "to

sustain the weight and might" of the mass of the enemy. "He manly, vigorously and valiantly assailed them in the midst, and strongest of their battle where he, with great violence, beat and bore down before him all that stood in his way." At this point the Lancastrian right, which had lost its formation in a blundering pursuit of Edward's left, came straggling back to the field and found itself, to its exceeding bewilderment, at the back of its own main body, instead of, as might be expected, that of the enemy. Warwick's men, alarmed at the sudden appearance of a force in their rear, and mistaking the "star with streams," the livery of Oxford's men, for Edward's sign, the "sun with streams," turned on the new-comers, who with a cry of "Treason," "broke and fled."[1] The incident had distracted and alarmed the Lancastrian army: and the King at once pressed home the advantage and "turned to the range, first on that hand, and then on that other hand, in length, and so beat and bare them down, so that nothing might stand in the sight of him, and the well assured fellowship that attended truly upon him." This vigorous attack was completely successful, and the Earl's army began to give way all along the line. At this point, it seems, the Marquis of Montagu was slain, according to one chronicler by one of Warwick's men, who saw him don Edward's livery preparatory to deserting his brother.[2] No other chronicler gives this story, which is inherently improbable. Montagu had had every opportunity for effective treachery during the last few days, and he would hardly have delayed so long if he had had any such intention.

[1] Warkworth, pp. 124-5.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 125.

The probability is that, overborne again by his brother's imperious will, he came to the fight desperate and was slain. His fall seems to have been the decisive moment of the battle. Warwick's army went to pieces. The Earl himself saw his brother's death, and leaping on his horse began to make off from the field, which was now hopelessly lost. He appears to have been seized by one of Edward's soldiers, who pulled him from his horse, and surrounded by his enemies he was soon slain.[1] By ten o'clock all was over and Edward was counting the cost of his victory.

Contemporary accounts of the Battle of Barnet give us no clear indication of its exact site. To the north of Barnet is an open space known now as Hadley Green, part of the original unenclosed common called Gladsmoor Heath. According to one modern authority,[2] it was across this Heath that Warwick had drawn up his men, his right wing under the Earl of Oxford and the Marquis of Montagu, to the west of the High Road; the centre, under Somerset, with its right across the road; the left, where Warwick and Exeter had the command, further to the east, having the village of Monken Hadley in their rear.

This arrangement of the Lancastrian troops would bring them very close to Barnet, without giving them the advantage of the steep slope that leads from Lower Barnet up to Hadley Green, and would place their left wing just in front of a deep depression which begins at Monken Hadley Church, and divides the High Road, north of its junction with the road to

[1] So Wavrin-Dupont, p. 211, and Warkworth. The former says that Edward, hearing Warwick was seized, ran to save him, but found him killed.

[2] See Plan. Oman, "Political History," vol. iv.

Monken Hadley, from the plateau of Enfield Chase. Moreover, we are told that Edward's afore-riders chased those of Warwick "more somewhat than half-a-mile: where, under a hedge-side, were ready assembled a great people in array of the Earl of Warwick's." Sir John Paston, who was with Warwick's right, also speaks of the action as having been fought half-a-mile from Barnet. Laying stress on these indications, another historian[1] supposes that Warwick's army was not drawn up east and west, but north and south, halting in line of march and forming array facing east on the High Road, as it arrived from St. Albans. The expression "hedge-side" would seem to denote that they were along the road, and placing the extreme right at the junction of the High Road and that to Monken Hadley, it would be just about half-a-mile from Barnet. This arrangement would make the Lancastrian left occupy ground from the High Stone northwards.

The details of the fight given above are from contemporary authorities. On the whole it seems safer to adopt the first conjecture as to the position of the two armies before the battle; it is difficult to see how, if we place them along the road, Edward's right, when driven off the field, were able to escape through Barnet, as the direction of the pursuit could not have been anything but eastward. On the other hand, the change of front of the Lancastrians from east to north is more explicable by the latter of the alternatives. But, if we hold to the former, it is possible that the Lancastrian line was swung to north and south instead of east to west, and that Oxford's men, endeavouring to find their former position, came

[1] Ramsay, ii, See his plan.

along the west of the Heath and found themselves in the rear of their centre division. This seems better than to explain the confusing detail by a long detour in the fog.[1]

Summary of the position of Edward and Warwick.

A thousand men had fallen of the two armies, but certainly Warwick's loss was the larger. The long duel was at an end and Warwick lay dead. Edward was "not so glad that Warwick was dead but for Montagu's death he was right sorry."[2] England, after a long, unjust and ruinous foreign war, with a weak Government, with an aristocracy of a strength and influence that enabled it to ignore, break or manipulate the law to its wishes, with an imbecile King, with family and party feuds which no sense of patriotism could control, groping blindly towards some solution of the difficulties that beset her, had thrown up this strong man, a politician and diplomatist, typical of the best of his time, typical of the elements in his country that were fatally strong. He was raised up by the weakness that besets a nation when, with no definite principle of advance, under the grip of no recognisable process of development, her destinies fall to the control of the masterful will of one man. And yet he had no more far-reaching view than those whom he took it upon him to direct.

Over against him she raised a young man, self-willed, self-indulgent, false, procrastinating; typical of the vices of his day, easily deceived, no diplomatist, no politician in the sense in which it is now understood,—Edward IV. But between him and his adversaries there lay a wide gulf. His mind was of the coming rather than the departing age. He could

[1] See Oman's "Warwick," p. 232.
[2] Polydore Vergil, p. 144.

use for his own advantage the appeal of the mediæval, could work on the fading glamour of chivalry, could adopt the standards set by mediæval thought—indeed, he had nothing to put in their place. And yet his is a more modern figure than that of Warwick. "The Last of the Barons" is wholly of the past—Edward is the point where mediæval and modern meet. On him broke the last great effort of the bastard feudalism that clogged England's progress. It had broken the heart and sanity of a better and weaker man: a better and stronger might have tried to do too much. Skilled beyond his great antagonist to know and seize the moments of Fate, without illusions, practical, brave, above all a soldier, he was just the man to sustain the shock, just the instrument to break its strength; the more effective for the purpose—the more representative of the nation and the time, in his limitations. Without Warwick, on whom had hinged the whole power and system of the over-strong nobility, the kingship could come to its own.

Edward returns to London.

The battle over, the King, after resting and refreshing his men, rode back to London. The City had been alarmed by reports of his defeat—now they welcomed the conqueror with the greater joy. Proceeding straight to St. Paul's, where he was received by the Cardinal, the Bishops, many nobles and civic authorities, with vast crowds of the commons, the King gave thanks for his victory. By his command the bodies of Warwick and Montagu were brought to the Cathedral next day, where they were exposed to public view, that all might know that Warwick was dead indeed, and that his name might no more be used against his Sovereign.

But there was still hard work to be done and blows to be struck ere the King was secure upon his throne. Warwick was gone—but Lancaster remained, undefeated and in arms. After their long delay Margaret and her son, with the Lord Wenlock and other Lancastrians, had landed at Weymouth on the day of Barnet. To her had proceeded the Duke of Somerset, escaped from the rout, and the Earl of Devonshire, and her army was assembling from the Western Counties determined to make an effort to undo the disaster that had befallen Warwick. On Friday, April 19th, the King, who had occupied the interval in attending to his wounded and raising troops and ordnance, left London, telling his leaders to concentrate on Windsor, where he kept St. George's Day. The Lancastrians had reached Exeter. His military instincts told him that, situated as they were, they must either march straight on London by Salisbury, or keeping to the sea coast proceed thither by Hampshire, Sussex and Kent; or they might strike North to the districts of Cheshire and Lancashire where their adherents were strong. Jasper Tudor was in Wales, raising an army to join them. Waiting until he knew that they had chosen the last alternative, not deceived by a feint they made in the direction of Salisbury, the King left Windsor on April 23rd; passing by Abingdon he reached Cirencester on the 29th. There he was informed that the enemy would be at Bath next day, Tuesday, intending to give battle on Wednesday. "For which cause, and for that he would see, and set his people in array, he drove all the people out of the town and lodged himself and his host that night in the fields, three miles out of the town." The next day he moved to Malmesbury.

Edward sets out against the Lancastrians in the West.

But the Lancastrians had turned aside to Bristol where they were rested and reinforced.[1] Encouraged by their reception they sent an advance guard to Sodbury, nine miles away, where they occupied the Roman camp. On May 1st the King pressed forward through Easton Gray, Great Sherston and Badminton in that direction, and some of his forerіders came in contact with Lancastrians near Chipping Sodbury. But the Lancastrian main body had started definitely for the North, and travelling all the night passed through Berkeley towards Gloucester. The King, with his full force ready for battle, was perplexed on reaching Sodbury by finding no sign of the enemy—but at three o'clock in the morning he learnt their plans and at once decided on his strategy. The Severn lay on the left flank of the Lancastrian army, and it became Edward's object to prevent their crossing it before he could come up with them. There was a bridge at Gloucester, after which it was a long march to Tewkesbury, where they might cross by a ford; but the next bridge was at Upton, still further north. Accordingly the King sent word to Richard Beauchamp, son and heir of Lord Beauchamp, governor of the town and castle of Gloucester, of his approach, commanding him at all costs to prevent the Lancastrians entering the town. If they should cross the Severn there Jasper would join them, and they might well get to the North. At ten a.m. on Friday, May 3rd, the Lancastrians arrived before Gloucester. Nothing could move the determination

Edward's strategy.

[1] For the Tewkesbury Campaign and Battle see "Proceedings of Bristol and Gloucester Archæological Society, 1903," p. 173 *seq.*; article by Canon Bazeley, of which I have ventured to make the fullest use. No other account is consistent and intelligible.

of the governor not to admit them, though there were Lancastrian sympathisers in the town; and, fearing lest the King should fall on their rear while outside the walls, they decided there was nothing for it but to press forward with their troops, already wearied by marching all night, to Tewkesbury. It was now merely a question of endurance and quick marching. Edward was on the dry high ground of the Cotswolds, moving along towards the same town by an inner and shorter route. The Lancastrians, down on low ground, hampered by bad roads and narrow lanes and woods, struggled forward over the ten miles that lay between Gloucester and Tewkesbury, where they arrived at four p.m. Edward, keeping well in touch with the enemy by his scouts, had set forward in battle formation early on the same Friday morning. Moving along the Portway his army suffered severely from thirst and hunger. It was a "right-an-hot" day, and when the army crossed the Froom it was so befouled by the ordnance and carts passing through it that it afforded little refreshment for the men and horses. Passing through Painswick and Kimsbury, Edward left the Portway at Prinknash, and moving by Birdlip and Leckhampton reached Cheltenham late in the afternoon. There he learnt that the Lancastrians, utterly wearied, had reached Tewkesbury and were preparing for battle. To attempt to cross by the ford with the King close on their rear would have been madness: but the men were so worn that anyhow further marching was for the time impossible. After a short rest and refreshment the Royal host marched on by Swinton and Stoke Orchard to Tredington, within three miles of Queen Margaret's position. The King, who had spent the night at the

old Parsonage, was early astir next morning. Marshalling his force in three divisions, the vanguard under Richard of Gloucester, taking the centre himself with the Duke of Clarence, the rear under Hastings, he advanced against the Lancastrian position. They had selected for their field, the rising ground to the south of Tewkesbury. There was then a large unenclosed space called the Gastons, which stretched from just south of the site of Holme Castle to Gupshill. There it was bounded to the south by a cross road, which ran from the Fields known as " Lincoln Green " on the west to the little enclosed earthwork, now known as " Margaret's Camp," on the east. The modern cemetery is to the rear of the centre of the Lancastrian position. They were in three divisions, the right under the Duke of Somerset lying between Lincoln Green and Gupshill—the centre under Prince Edward and Lord Wenlock on the ridge by Gupshill Farm, while the left, under the Earl of Devonshire, extended from Gupshill to the Swillgate, a stream which runs south and north up to Tewkesbury, where it curves westward to the Avon. The Lancastrian left commanded the road from Tredington, and, protected on its flank by the Swillgate, had a good position. " Foul lanes," deep dykes, and many hedges protected their front, and doubtless there had been some attempt to strengthen it by earthworks.

Site of the battle of Tewkesbury.

Crossing the Swillgate at Tredington, the Royal army formed up half-a-mile south of Gupshill with the fields called the " Red Piece " between them and their enemies. On the right of the Duke of Somerset's division the King's strategic insight detected a possible danger. The thickly-wooded hill of Tewkesbury Park might well contain an ambush which would turn his

left flank. He accordingly sent 200 spearmen to watch for any such attempt from that quarter, giving orders that if they found the wood clear, they were to wait for a chance of effective employment from that direction against the enemy.

The battle of Tewkesbury, May 4th, 1471.

The battle opened with artillery fire on both sides —but the Lancastrians were weak in this arm, having lost some of their guns on the march from Gloucester ; the archers on both sides got to work, the Yorkists pressing forward close up to the enemy's lines. But Edward found it difficult to get to close fighting owing to the broken nature of the ground. At this point the Duke of Somerset left his position, and " by certain paths and ways therefore before purveyed," appeared on the right flank of the Yorkist army. But he had abandoned thereby the advantage of ground and brought his men into a depression that lies between Gupshill and Southwick. It is said that the Duke of Gloucester tempted him to leave his position by a feigned retreat. It is hard to see how this could be as Gloucester was in charge of the " van," which then implied the right wing. It is probable that the plan was in Somerset's mind before the battle, and that he had left convenient gaps in his earthworks for the movement. The King immediately saw the Duke's mistake, and crossing the brook on his left fell on Somerset's men " full manly." At this moment the body of spearmen from Tewkesbury Park, seizing the moment, fell on Somerset's right flank. His force at once went to pieces. Some made off by the Park : but numbers, trying to get to the Lower Lode and cross the river, were overwhelmed and slain at the field which still bears the name of Bloody Meadow. Somerset himself got back to the

centre division, where, with his battle-axe, he dashed out the brains of Lord Wenlock who had failed to support his advance. King Edward was now able to force himself through the gap on their right on to the Lancastrian centre which broke and, unable to get to the Severn for the Yorkist left which had swung round, fled towards the town; near the Abbey Mill they were delayed by the narrowness of the passage past the Dam and were cut down and drowned in great numbers. The left had also given way and was driven through the Gastons and Vineyard towards the town. The Lancastrians were simply annihilated. The Earl of Devonshire and Lord John of Somerset were slain fighting. Prince Edward seems to have fallen in the flight of the Lancastrian centre—one chronicler says as he "cried for succour to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Clarence."[1]

[1] In the chroniclers of the next century (see Fabyan, the earliest, p. 462; Polydore Vergil, p. 152; Holinshed, p. 319), strongly tinged with Lancastrian prejudice, we find the well-known story that the young Prince was captured and brought before Edward, who questioned him as to his purpose in invading England. The lad is credited with a bold and dramatic reply, and Edward is then said to have struck him in the face with his gauntleted fist—a signal for his death. Clarence and Gloucester immediately fell on him and slew him. There is no contemporary evidence for this story, which sounds like poetical retribution for his mother's crime in setting him to judge and condemn the Yorkist prisoners after the second battle of St. Albans. The quotation given above is from Warkworth, p. 127. Contemporaries generally speak of the Prince being slain on the field. But in the letter written by the authorities in London to the Bastard of Fauconberge on May 8th, 1471, the Prince is reported as "slain," and lower down, "taken and slayn." See "Archæologia Cantiana," Vol. XI, pp. 35-960. It is probable that the truth is as given above. The Yorkist centre were pursuing their opponents townwards—possibly Clarence in command: perhaps the Prince saw and appealed to him as he was cut down.

The Lancastrian army had ceased to exist—but fugitives were scattered far and wide, of whom a vigorous pursuit was maintained.

Perjury and sacrilege of the Yorkists.

The Duke of Somerset, Sir John Langstrother and some thirteen others had taken refuge in the Abbey. The King followed them and arrived sword in hand at the door, where he was met by a priest " that turned out at his mass, and, the sacrament in his hands,"[1] demanded that he should swear on the Sacrament to spare the fugitives. The King gave his consent. But on the Monday they were nevertheless brought out and tried before the Dukes of Gloucester and Norfolk and beheaded in the King's presence. Nor was this the only instance of sacrilege, for many churches in the neighbourhood at this time seem to have been defiled by bloodshed, and the Abbey was only one among those requiring re-dedication.[2] Edward's vengeance, though he allowed no mutilation and permitted proper burial to the deceased, was pitiless and bloody.

Edward advances to Coventry.

On Tuesday, May 7th, the King left Tewkesbury for Worcester, news reaching him on his way of the apprehension in the neighbourhood of Queen Margaret and the Lady Anne, widow before wife of Prince Edward of Wales. The North of England was agitated by local movements on the part of Lancastrian sympathisers, and Edward felt himself obliged to quell them before returning to London. He sent orders for new levies to meet him at Coventry on the 12th,[3] where he himself arrived on the 10th ; some days were spent in the town, but word arriving that on the news of Tewkesbury

[1] Warkworth, p. 127.
[2] See Canon Bazeley's monograph as above, p. 190.
[3] Duke of Rutland's MSS., *ut supra.*

and of his approach all intention of rebellion had collapsed, and that York and other towns and the leaders had submitted to the Earl of Northumberland, who had made it clearly understood that he was of the King's party and would suppress any insurrection, it was decided that no expedition to the North was necessary. The Earl of Northumberland, who had himself brought news of the submission of the districts under his control, was so confident that all resistance to the King was over that he had arrived with a very small company " not arrayed in manner of war."

Attack on London by the Bastard of Fauconberge.

But before Edward had reached Coventry he was informed of yet another outbreak. The Bastard of Fauconberge, an illegitimate son of Edward's uncle, the late Earl of Kent, had early attached himself to the fortunes of Warwick : he had accompanied him in his invasion from France the previous year, and to him had been committed by the Earl the keeping of the narrow seas. After the return of King Edward the Bastard appears to have behaved as a common pirate, plundering the vessels of England's enemies and allies in the Channel indifferently. When Edward left London for the Tewkesbury campaign he determined to strike a blow for King Henry. His plan was excellently conceived and might have put Edward in great danger. Assembling " out of every part and port " a host of mariners, old soldiers, robbers and malcontents of every description he wrote to the authorities in London from Sittingbourne on May 8th, declaring for King Henry, and asking for passage to go and fight his enemies.[1] The request was refused. Word was at once sent from

[1] See " Archæologia Cantiana," xi, pp. 359-61.

the City to the King, begging for his presence to defend the Queen, who with her son and daughters was in the Tower, and recounting the imminent dangers to which all faithful Londoners were exposed. Edward at once, on May 14th, despatched a body of 1,500 picked men and followed himself on the 16th. For the first time for many years the City saw active warfare. On May 13th, a bombardment was begun from Fauconberge's ships—many houses being fired at Aldgate. But the Mayor and Aldermen acted with immense resolution, to the no small pride of the citizens, whom the Earl of Essex organised for resistance. Sorties were made from the Tower by Earl Rivers and by a party of citizens from Aldgate, and though houses were blazing at one time in three different places the rebels' assault failed. By May 18th they had drawn off to Blackheath, where hearing of the King's approach their forces began to break up. All danger was over before the arrival of Edward's advance guard under the Duke of Gloucester on the 21st. Later in the day the King with Clarence,[1] who had borne himself bravely in arms at Barnet and Tewkesbury,[2] was met outside the City by the civic authorities, of whom the King dubbed the Mayor, the Recorder and other Aldermen, knights, in recognition of their gallant defence of the City and their faithfulness to his person. Again the crowd welcomed Edward as King, again he gave thanks at

[1] With him were the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Shrewsbury, Rivers, Essex, Wiltshire, Pembroke, Kent, and Lords Audley, Stanley, Grey and Codnor, Cromwell, Dacre, Hastings, Howard, Dynham, Cobham, Maltravers, Bourchier, Dudley and Scrope. See Arundel MS., Brit. Mus. 28, f. 25b.

[2] "Political Poems and Songs," I, 271, v. 23 and 41.

St. Paul's. His enemies in the field were slain or scattered—Queen Margaret graced his triumphal entry,—none of the leaders of his enemies remained save the Duke of Exeter, lying sorely wounded in London.

Murder of Henry VI.

But there still lived in the Tower the helpless figure in whose name England had been plunged into renewed civil war. The last of his house, his life ceased to be of use to his conqueror. So long as the son had lived it was worse than useless to slay the father; men might have looked with greater hope to the gallant youth, than to the poor broken man. But now young Edward was gone and still many had risen in Henry's name. The night of the King's arrival in London was his rival's last night upon earth. The next day, May 22nd, it was given out that he had died of "pure displeasure and melancholy":[1] but Richard of Gloucester had been to the Tower—there were ugly stories as to marks and bleedings when the body was next day exposed in St. Paul's. It was borne to honourable burial—but no one doubted what had been his end. Whether Richard slew him by his own hands or not, there can be little doubt that the deed was superintended or ordered by him at the King's command. It was too obviously the logical sequel—with the merciless logic of bloody times and dynastic feuds—of Edward's triumph.

For yet a few days the King was under arms, proceeding from London on the 23rd to Sandwich and Canterbury in full force to put down and punish the remnants of rebellion. The Duke of Norfolk and the

[1] So Arrival, p. 38. See Ramsay, ii, p. 386, note 3, for discussion of authorities. Warkworth and the Continuator of Croyland are the authorities for the view in my text.

Earl of Essex were commissioned to try the accused among the common folk, who were allowed for the most part to buy their pardon by heavy fines. By May 29th order was completely restored, and the King returned to London on June 1st. It was three months since, an exile, he had embarked with a handful of men to reconquer his kingdom.

Summary of Edward's campaign.

Edward had shown himself a king indeed. In three short months he had marched many hundreds of miles; raised, controlled, disciplined and manœuvred large armies; fought two pitched battles and fairly won his kingdom. But four considerations strike us in reviewing this extraordinary sequence of events. Firstly, the ill-preparedness of his enemies, and secondly, the national apathy that made possible these frequent and astounding revolutions. The lack of political faith and principle that gave to each party in turn a spasmodic support show in the first place that the country was utterly weary of fighting; while, on the other hand, it is evident that the struggle affected little the lives of the people at large. Their work went on quietly, with the storm overhead. Thirdly, we must notice how low the politics of the last fifty years had brought the sense of honour and right of the combatants. Edward's unblushing perjury at York; the executions at Tewkesbury in spite of pledges of safety; the murder of Henry VI; these are blots on the fame of the King that nothing can remove, nothing extenuate. The brave, easy-going, affectionate lad of nineteen has become the ruthless, perfidious man of twenty-nine. But if he had lost in character, he had plainly gained in ability. It is true that his good fortune had been nothing short of marvellous. That he was not crushed at his

landing was little short of a miracle; but that the armies of his enemies should, by the fate that dogged the unhappy chief of the House of Lancaster, have been caught separately and overwhelmed in turn was better fortune for Edward than any man could have expected. His danger was extreme when he marched to York. If London had refused him admittance, again he must have fallen. If the Bastard of Fauconberge had been a little earlier and caught him after Tewkesbury before he had raised fresh troops, it would have gone hard with him. And yet his own decision and rapidity had much to do with this singular failure on the part of his enemies. No such campaign has ever been fought on English soil. The length and pace of his marches, the strategic insight displayed, the boldness of his ventures, his handling of his men, his unresting vigilance, show us Edward at his best, as the greatest soldier of his day.

It remained for him to justify his success, and to show whether, unhampered by the will and power of Warwick, he could as King give to his country the peace and prosperity that had been so long denied to her.

CHAPTER XI

HOME AFFAIRS AND PREPARATIONS FOR WAR WITH FRANCE

THE second reign of King Edward thus began under auspices very different from the first; and among the most important differences was the fact that Edward had now a son and heir, born in sanctuary while his father was in exile. Recognising the strength which the possession of an heir brought to him, he, on July 3rd, 1471, assembled Archbishops, Bishops, and Peers to the number of thirty-three, and other men of importance, and administered to them an oath recognising the Prince as "verry and undoubted heyre to our sovereign lord" and promising "in all things truly and faithfully to behave" to him "as a true and faithful subject oweth to behave him."[1] We may notice among those who took the oath the name of the Archbishop of York, who had obtained his pardon, but he was not named as one of the Prince's Council, which was appointed soon afterwards. Almost the whole nation stood in need of pardon, including several bishops, and the King took advantage of the fact by making them pay heavily to make their peace.[2] Indeed the sums raised in this way from the higher clergy and mercantile magnates reached the figure of some £20,000.[3]

The Prince of Wales.

Edward had written from Canterbury on May 29th "to our very dear and special friends the nobles,

Gratitude of King Edward.

[1] MS. Lansdowne, 511.
[2] See Ramsay, ii, 390.
[3] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 453.

men, escontelles, Burgomaster, Sheriffs and Council of the town of Bruges,"[1] thanking them "as much and as cordially as we can for the good cheer and great courtesy, which from your benevolent affection it did please you to bestow on us." "We can never do sufficient for you and for the said town." It had pleased God "to give us such good and prosperous fortune that thereby we have obtained the victory over all our enemies and rebels." He sent presents of money and trading concessions to some of the Flemish merchants who had befriended him.[2] For his host, Louis de Bruges, greater honours were in store. He wrote also to thank the Duke of Burgundy for "his brotherly and valuable assistance"; but he had previously intimated to his sister Margaret that he considered that assistance had been unwillingly given.[3] The method of Charles had left wounds which his actions had not been able to heal.

His friends at home were rewarded and among them Thomas Millyng, Abbot of Westminster, who had so kindly received his Queen. In 1474 he took the opportunity of promoting him to the See of Hereford. A butcher, William Gould, who had provided Elizabeth with meat when in sanctuary and lost fifty head of cattle while she was at the Tower, owing to the ravages of the Bastard of Fauconberge, was not forgotten—receiving exceptional trading rights by license from the King.[4] He gave a similar license to one John Dort, a Gascon who wished to found a Chantry in memory of the Lord de la Forse

[1] See "Achæologia," xxi, pp. 11-24.
[2] Rymer, xi, pp, 729-30. See O. de la Marche.
[3] Commines (Bohn), Vol. I, p. 201 and note.
[4] Ellis, "Original Letters," i, p. 140.

and Isarn de la Bernia, two foreigners who fell in the Royal army at Barnet.[1]

The Court spent Christmas, 1471, at Westminster,[2] the King and Queen going crowned to hear Mass said by the Bishop of Rochester. The King kept his estate in Whitehall and at dinner the Bishop sat on his right and the Duke of Buckingham on his left. On New Year's Day they processed again, uncrowned; on Twelfth Day the King went in procession crowned again, and at night kept his estate again in Whitehall. The Bishop of Rochester and the Earls of Shrewsbury and Essex were in the places of honour, when he entertained the Mayor and Aldermen, and many of the citizens of London. It is clear that he was anxious to be known and appreciated by the Londoners. These festivities over he was expected immediately to make a progress, either to the North or to the West country and Wales.[3] But this did not take place, for soon afterwards we find him at Sheen with the Queen and his brothers.[4] Between Clarence and Gloucester there was bad blood. The latter had rendered the King faithful and effective service which contrasted sharply with the behaviour of Clarence, and had received in reward the Great Chamberlainship, and, besides the estates of the Earl of Oxford, the castles of Middleham, Sheriff Hutton and Penrith, the estates inherited by the dead Earl of Warwick from his father, the Earl of Salisbury. Clarence had obtained "the Courtenay estates in Devon and Cornwall." Richard was anxious to marry Anne Neville,

Quarrel of Clarence and Gloucester.

[1] "Genealogist," iv, p. 26.
[2] Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus. 6113, f. 103b.
[3] "Paston Letters," v, p. 130.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 135.

a suitable match and one there is reason to believe, on his part at any rate, of affection. But the question of settlements raised a difficulty. Clarence, extravagant and grasping, expected the earldoms and the whole remaining estates of the Earl of Warwick, through his wife Isabel Neville, and was determined to give up nothing to his brother with Anne; he even went so far as to place the lady in hiding.[1] But Richard found her. The brothers laid their respective views before the King in Council, arguing with the skill of trained lawyers. But Clarence still sulkily held out. He is reported to have said that Richard "might well have my Lady his sister-in-law, but they shall part no livelihood."[2] It was the beginning of a very pretty quarrel which caused considerable annoyance to the King and unsettlement in the kingdom.

In June, 1473, we find that "the Countess of Warwick is now out of Beaulieu Sanctuary and Sir James Tyrell conveyeth her Northward, men say by the King's assent, where to some men say that the Duke of Clarence is not agreed."[3] It has been thought from this that the King was anxious to do justice to the widowed Countess, whom Clarence wished to strip of the Beauchamp estates, rightfully hers after the death of her husband. But she only exchanged one form of imprisonment for another, remaining for many years in enforced retirement under the charge of Richard of Gloucester.[4] In November affairs had come to such a pass that Sir John Paston wrote: "The most part that be about the King have sent hither for their harness: and it

[1] Cont. Croyland, pp. 469-70.
[2] "Paston Letters," v, p. 135.
[3] *Ibid.*, v, p. 185.
[4] See Gairdner's "Richard the Third," p. 27.

is said for certain that the Duke of Clarence maketh him big in that he can, schewyng as he wolde but dele with the Duke of Gloucester ; but the King intendeth, in eschwying all inconvenience, to be as big as they both, and to be a styffeler between them ; and some men think that under this there should be some other thing intended, and some treason conspired."[1] "The King hath sent for his Great Seal ; some say we shall have a new Chancellor, but some think that the King doth as he did at the last fields, he will have the Seal with him." Eventually the dispute was settled by Edward dividing the Neville inheritance between the brothers, ignoring entirely the rights of the widowed Countess of Warwick, who was treated as if she were dead. The affair is of importance as showing in the first place the new carefulness of the King and his determination to allow of no quarrel proceeding to extremes. Secondly, it is of importance as evidencing the restlessness and lawlessness of the Duke of Clarence, who, entirely untroubled by memories of the past, did not hesitate to give his brother new cause of complaint against him ; his self-will stuck at nothing, and it was clear that he was to be a source of future disturbance and must be carefully watched.

Arrest and exile of George Neville.

Of the Lancastrians still living the only one who threatened trouble during these two years was the Earl of Oxford. By himself he could be ignored. But during 1472[2] the King seems to have acquired information of a correspondence with him which might lead to something serious. The guilty party was

[1] "Paston Letters," p. 195.

[2] Probably in April. Edward was at Windsor for a Chapter meeting of the Order of the Garter on April 23rd.

George Neville, Archbishop of York—the most frankly incomprehensible of his family. He had been pardoned, and resided at his palace of the Moor, near Langley, in Hertfordshire. The story of his fall is worth giving in full.[1] "George was with King Edward at Windsor, and hunted, and had there right good cheer; and supposed that he had stood in great favour with the King: for the King said to the Archbishop, that he would come for to hunt and disport with him in his Manor at Moor: whereof he was right glad, and took his leave, and went home to make purveyance therefor: and sent out of London and other places, all his plate and other stuff that he had hid after Barnet field, and Tewkesbury field, and also borrowed more stuff of other men, and provided for the King for two or three days, for meat and drink and lodging, and arrayed as richly and as pleasantly as he could; and the day before the King should have come to the Archbishop, to the said Manor of the Moor, the King sent a gentleman to the said Archbishop, and commanded him to come to Windsor to him; and as soon as he came, he was arrested and impeached of high treason, for that he should help the Earl of Oxford, and anon right he was put to ward. And forthwith Sir William Parr, knight, and Thomas Vaughan, squire, with many other divers gentlemen and yeomen, were sent to the said Manor of the Moor: and there by the King's commandment seized the said Manor into the King's hands, and all the goods that were therein, which were worth twenty thousand pounds or more, and all other lordships and lands that the said Bishop had within England, and all his stuff and riches

[1] Warkworth, pp. 136-7.

within all his lordships: and sent the said Bishop over the sea to Calais, and from thence to the Castle of Hammes, and there he was kept prisoner many a day; and the King all that season took the profit of the Archbishoprick. And anon after, the King broke the said Archbishop's mitre, in which were full many rich stones and precious, and made thereof a crown for himself. And all his other jewels, plate, and stuff, the King gave it to his eldest son and heir, Prince Edward; for the said Archbishop had been Chancellor of England many days, and he and his brother had the rule of the land, and had gathered great riches many years, which in one day was lost: and all by the high judgment of righteousness (as many men said by him) for his great covetousness, which had no pity for King Harry's men, and was cause of many men's undoing for King Edward's sake, if he might get any good by him. . . . . And also men supposed for cause he was double to King Harry, and kept him in London, when he would have been at Westminster; he had a letter sent from King Edward, to keep him out of sanctuary, and he had his charter sent him; when had he been a true man to King Harry as the commons of London were, King Edward had not come into London before Barnet field." This account of the Archbishop's double dealing seems to be true. His pardon was dated from April 13th—two days before the King's entrance into London. Avarice seems to have been his ruling passion. He lingered in his foreign prison till the autumn of 1474, when he was again pardoned and returned to England, a broken man, to die after a few months.

King Edward entertains Louis de Bruges.

In September, 1472, the King performed an act of gratitude which is in pleasant contrast to the incident recorded above. Louis de Bruges, Lord of la Gruthuyse, was sent to England on embassy from the Duke of Burgundy. The whole people at the expressed wish of the King seemed to vie with one another to do honour to the friend of their King who had shown him such kindness in his hour of need. After being "daily and nightly" feasted for two or three days at Calais he crossed to Dover where he was received with full civic honours. At Canterbury he was "presented with wyne, capons, Feysantes, Pertryches and other presentes." Entertainment of similar luxury was given at Rochester and Gravesend. Received by the two Sheriffs of London "he had an honourable and a plentuous dynner," at a place "called Shylley." He spent two days at "a place in Chanon Rowe, whiche was ordered for him by the Kinge." Thence he rode to Windsor to the King. The account of his entertainment at the Castle, given later in this volume, gives an interesting picture of Court life of the period.[1]

But still more substantial honours were in store for him. The Court moved to Westminster and on October 13th the Speaker, William Alyngton, made a speech in Parliament in which he rehearsed the merits of their guest—referring also to the constancy in time of trouble of the Queen, Clarence, Gloucester, Hastings and others. Louis de Bruges was then formally instituted as Earl of Winchester, a revenue of £200 per annum being attached to his peerage: and he received the right to canton the arms of England on his escutcheon.[2]

[1] See appendix to Chapter xiii.
[2] Rymer, xi, p. 765.

Foreign relations.

Relations with foreign powers had been reopened by the King immediately on his recovery of the throne. In August, 1470, he had been in negotiation with the King of Scots, who was anxious to mark his friendship for England by some marriage alliance.[1] King Louis had been attempting to interest the Scottish King on behalf of the Lancastrians after the battle of Tewkesbury; but in February and March of 1472 ambassadors from the two countries met at Newcastle:[2] mutual reparation was made for various infractions of the truce which had been signed in 1465 and was to last till October, 1519. It was now confirmed, and the King ordered it to be published throughout England.

The kingdom of Portugal renewed, in March, 1472, a treaty with England dated February, 1387.[3] King Alfonso was anxious to secure reparation for the loss of some Portuguese ships which had been taken by the Bastard of Fauconberge. A commission was appointed to consider the required restitution, which was duly made by the end of February, 1473.

The course of foreign policy generally seemed to be indicated with absolute certainty by the events of the last year. Even before his exile Edward had announced his intention of invading France: but King Louis had been a prime cause of his misfortunes: he it was who had entertained Edward's rebellious brother and cousin: he who had planned and brought about their reconciliation with the Lancastrians: he, therefore, who had restored Henry VI. Edward was not likely to entertain

[1] Rymer xi, pp. 717-19, 733.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 741.

feelings less strong on the subject of his claims to France than he had before. But money was wanting —the nation was tired of fighting, and it was impossible to raise at once the men and supplies necessary for his purpose. Accordingly King Edward, in September of 1471, concluded a truce with the French King—who, on his part, was not anxious to come to hostilities—until May, 1472.[1]

France and Burgundy.

If France had been the enemy, Burgundy had been the friend whose hospitality and assistance had made the King's daring return to England a possibility. The long and weary struggle of Charles and his suzerain was at this time interrupted by a truce : but it was not meant to last. The King of France had induced his brother, Charles, to accept instead of the Duchy of Champagne,—which at Louis's disastrous interview with the Duke of Burgundy at Perronne, in 1468, it had been arranged that he should have,—that of Guienne, thus removing him from the immediate contact with and the influence of Burgundy. Shortly afterwards Louis, persuaded by the Count of St. Pol and others to attempt the reconquest of the Somme Towns, had taken Amiens and St. Quentin. The Duke of Burgundy, taken by surprise, was obliged for the moment to pretend to accept the terms of St. Pol, who offered to support him if he would give his only child Mary as wife to the Duke of Guienne. The only person between the Duke and the French throne in case of Louis's death was the Dauphin, a sickly child, born in 1470. The succession of the Duke of Guienne to the throne of France, to which he would join by this marriage the vast estates of Burgundy after Charles's death, was a thing that

[1] Rymer, ix, p. 721.

Edward could not think of allowing. His alarm was extreme. But Charles, who had no wish to lose at that time such a valuable diplomatic asset as his daughter, had no intention of allowing the marriage, and succeeded in pacifying Edward's fears. Louis on his part knew he could not trust those who had induced him to reopen the war with Burgundy, and finally gave up Amiens and St. Quentin on the condition that Charles would abandon connection with the Dukes of Brittany and Guienne. At the same time the Duke of Burgundy was assuring the Dukes that he only agreed to these terms to recover his possessions. But for the moment the truce held good.

The Duke of Burgundy and King Edward.

The Duke, on hearing of Edward's victories, at once wrote to remind him of his promise and to urge him to press his title in France with the more earnestness and vigour on account of the spite and malice of King Louis. He was willing to share the success or failure of an expedition. At the same time he was obtaining from his mother, Isabella of Portugal, a renunciation in his favour of her rights to succeed to the throne of England. The deaths of Henry VI and his son, and the Beauforts placed him, in the event of the failure of the Yorkist line, in the position of a possible claimant for the English Crown, a position which might be useful.[1] But the matter was kept a strict secret. Edward, in answer to his letters to him, despatched one of his Councillors, who reached Charles at Abbéville, to assure the Duke that the King of England had not abandoned his hostile intentions against France, but was unable to move in the matter for the time.[2]

[1] Kirk, "Charles the Bold," ii, p. 116.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 469.

At the end of February of the following year Edward sent a commission to treat with Charles; and to make mercantile agreements. The ambassadors of the various powers met and finally on April 4th, 1472, the four countries, France, Burgundy, England and Brittany, agreed to a truce to last till April, 1473.[1] Edward's policy towards the Duke of Brittany was decided for him by the fact that the young Earl of Richmond, son of Margaret Beaufort, the only heir of the House of Lancaster whose claims were ever likely to be taken seriously in England, was with his uncle, Jasper Tudor, under the protection of Duke Francis. In the summer of 1472 Lord Rivers was sent with an embassy to make the first of the several attempts of King Edward to get the two Tudors into his own hands. The Duke steadily refused to give them up—but he was induced by his own interests to promise that they should be kept under careful supervision and restraint.

Meanwhile, in May, 1472, the Duke of Guienne died, and there were strong suspicions of foul play. The Duke of Burgundy rushed to arms, but failing in an attack on the town of Beauvais was obliged to accept an armistice. He then turned from France to those schemes for the consolidation and extension of his dominions which were to destroy him. In October he despatched to Edward the embassy under Louis de Bruges referred to above. He once more pressed for assistance from his ally who, influenced perhaps by his indebtedness to the ambassador, sent a body of archers to help him in his schemes, the more readily that for the moment those schemes enabled him to postpone the opening of hostilities with France.

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 750.

King Edward's fourth Parliament meets Oct. 6th, 1472.

"By the autumn of 1472 Edward had spent some £20,000 obtained from the men who had compromised themselves in the days of Warwick's ascendency. He had also spent all the normal revenue of the Crown."[1] So he found himself again forced by financial necessities to summon a Parliament. It met on October 6th. The King knew how to appeal to his Commons, and the announcement of his intention to proceed with the French expedition which the strange events of the past three years had postponed, met with an immediate and hearty response. A grant was made to maintain 14,000 archers for one year at 6d. per diem—and the £118,000 odd that this would require was to be raised by a tenth on incomes. "The money, when collected, was to be kept apart from the ordinary revenue of the realm; it was to be spent only on the French expedition,"[2] and was to be refunded if the army had not started before Michaelmas.

The new method of raising funds by income-tax necessitated an assessment of lands at their real value. It had been found, by experience, that to allow owners to return their own valuation resulted in a sum considerably below what was right. The King's financial agents accordingly began an assessment. The King took great interest in the process, and we find him, on December 30th, writing from Sheen desiring to be kept fully informed as to the progress of collection—"one of the things earthly that we most desire to know."[3] But the inquisitorial method of government assessment was most unpopular.

[1] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 453.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] "Archæologia," xxix, p, 136.

Accordingly, when the Houses met on February 8th, it was decided on the ground that the tenth was insufficient and hard to raise, to grant a tenth and fifteenth on account, subject to the reductions for distressed towns which had obtained before. On April 8th the King gave his thanks and adjourned Parliament till October 6th, when a matter of great importance in view of the coming struggle with France was brought before them. In November, 1468, the merchants of the Hanseatic League, better known at the time as the Easterlings, had lost a suit brought against them by the "Merchant Adventurers English," and were condemned to pay a fine of £13,520.[1] The judgment had been received by the Easterlings with indignation, and they had ever since acted in a most piratical manner towards any English merchant vessels that they came across in the Channel. We have seen how they chased the little flotilla which conveyed Edward to his refuge in Holland, in 1470. Much trade had been lost by the continuance of the quarrel, and the King resolved to bring it to an end before engaging in hostilities with France, when their enmity might have been a serious danger to England. An attempt to arrive at a settlement had been unsuccessfully made in 1469. In March and December, 1472,[2] commissioners had been appointed to treat for terms with the governors of the Hansa. In May, 1473, Edward promised to send representatives to a Diet to be held at Utrecht in July, when a provisional treaty was arranged. This was now ratified in Parliament, and its terms were so liberal to the Hansemen that it is obvious that

Settlement of the dispute with the Hanse towns.

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi, pp. 180-1.
[2] Rymer, xi, p. 739.

Edward attached great importance to obtaining a settlement. They were shortly afterwards granted the "right to hold in perpetuity the premises in Thames Street known as the Steel-Yard, with similar depôts at Boston and Hull";[1] and a sum of £10,000 was to be deducted from what they would pay in customs, to make good their losses at sea.

The customs rates, under their old treaties, now re-enacted, gave them a preference in the English market over all other Continental nations, and even the English merchants were placed at a disadvantage in comparison with them. By these means trade with Northern and Eastern Europe was stimulated: and knowing Edward's care to preserve the good opinion of the London merchants and his interest in trade, we can only suppose either that the settlement was not in reality as disadvantageous to English traders as it seems; or that the King obtained for himself financial advantages which made it worth his while to incur their displeasure.

After the bringing in of a Resumption Act which had again been found to be necessary, and of which the most important feature was that the name of Clarence was not included in 221 clauses of exemption, Parliament was adjourned on December 13th till January 20th, 1474.

Activity of the Earl of Oxford.

The King, during the two and a half years which had passed since he came again into his kingdom, had not found the security and ease of mind for which he might have looked. The quarrel between his brothers kept society in continual suspense. Besides this domestic difference another source of unrest was the activity of that tireless irreconcilable, the Earl of

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 395.

Oxford. His doings, and the alarm they aroused in England can be traced in the "Paston Letters." A man, Hogan, who claimed the gift of prophecy, kept London in alarm throughout the year 1473 by foretelling coming disturbances. "Men say here, as well as Hogan, that we shall have ado in haste: I know no likelihood but that such a rumour there is. Men say the Queen, with the Prince, shall come out of Wales and keep this Easter with the King at Leicester, and some say neither of them shall come there."[1] "The King rideth freshly this day (April 12th) to Northampton ward, there to be this Easter, and after Easter he purposeth to be much at Leicester, and in Leicestershire. Every man saith that we shall have ado ere May pass. Hogan the prophet is in the Tower; he would fain speak with the King, but the King saith he shall not avaunt that ever he spake with him."[2] Hogan was so far justified that the Earl of Oxford was in April fitting out in Normandy an expedition of twelve ships to take him to Scotland. There were stories of treasure sent out to him, and a conspiracy in his favour in Suffolk. In May he is off the coast of Devon, and troops are out to receive him: but on June 5th the King writes from Shrewsbury to the Sheriff of the county to dismiss the levies and "sit still and be quiet," as Oxford was put to flight and gone.[3] He had landed at St. Osyth, in Essex, on May 28th, but finding no support, and hearing of the approach of troops, re-embarked and remained near the coast, being seen near Thanet on June 3rd.[4]

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 179.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 181.
[3] "Miscellaneous Writings of Beaufort Grimaldi," 1874, p. 45.
[4] "Paston Letters," v, p. 188.

There was nothing very serious in this, "but yet his coming saved Hogan his head, and his prophesy is the more believed for he had said that this trouble should begin in May, and that the King should go Northwards, and that the Scots should make us work and him battle."[1] "Men look after they wot not what, but men buy harness fast, the King's menial men and the Duke of Clarence's are many in this town (London): the Lord Rivers came to-day, men say to purvey in likewise." The prevailing unrest kept the King moving in the Midlands all the summer and autumn of 1473. He was at Northampton for Easter on April 18th, and we know that he went as far north as Stamford and west as Shrewsbury. The De Vere estates lay principally in East Anglia: but the King must have been induced by symptoms of disaffection, possibly in the Neville possessions of the Duke of Clarence, to spend such a long time away from London. At the end of September he received intelligence that the Earl of Oxford, with eighty men, had seized St. Michael's Mount, and that the people of the neighbourhood had received him with ominous heartiness. After "a local magnate," Sir Henry Bodrugan, had failed to reduce the invaders, the King raised a considerable force which, under the Sheriff, blockaded the Mount from the beginning of December until, on February 15th, the Earl surrendered, being "constrained to sue for the pardon only of his life; and his body, goods, lands, with all the remnant, at the King's will."[2] His garrison, apparently, did not surrender until later. The Earl was at once despatched to confinement in the Castle of Ham, where

Surrender of the Earl of Oxford at St. Michael's Mount.

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 188.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 203.

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he remained in great wretchedness until his escape in 1484, in time to take the part of Henry Tudor at Bosworth Field.

Parliament in 1474.

Parliament reassembled on January 20th, 1474, but on February 1st the King in person adjourned it to May 9th, on the ground that he was still waiting, anxiously, to learn the intentions of the Duke of Burgundy as to the proposed invasion of France.[1] In May the long delayed settlement of the dispute between Gloucester and Clarence as to the Warwick estates was ratified.[2] After another adjournment the House met on July 18th, the King being present. He pressed, through a new Chancellor, Bishop Rotherham of Lincoln, and the Speaker, William Alyngton, for a liberal and definite grant of money, such as would enable him to pay the 13,000 archers whom they had agreed to support. To his immense gratification the Commons made grants of a tenth and fifteenth and voted a special subsidy, to be assessed on goods and chattels rather than land, sufficient to make up the required sum of £118,625. "The money was again directed to be kept in hand, and not paid over till the shipping was ready; but the time for sailing was extended to Midsummer, 1476."[3] Parliament was then prorogued till January 23rd, 1475. These heavy impositions naturally met with considerable opposition and dislike. The grants were, indeed, most liberal. The clergy, too, between January, 1472, and February, 1475, contributed largely, the Convocation of Canterbury granting three-tenths, that of York two-tenths.

[1] "Rot. Parl.," vi, p. 98.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 100.
[3] Ramsay, ii, p. 401.

Besides these regular and constitutional methods of raising money Edward is credited with the invention of a new, irregular and most unpopular means of extortion—notorious under the name of "benevolences"—which was neither more nor less than bringing to bear on private individuals, and on corporations, the whole weight and pressure of the social influence of the Court and Crown, backed by the power of a strong Government against which there was no appeal, to induce them to advance money for the needs of the Government. The method was one of appeal to personal feelings of gratitude, fear, or the desire not to be thought niggardly. The forced loans of Henry III, Edward II and Richard II in character closely resembled the "benevolence":[1] but such methods had almost passed from memory, and it is spoken of as a "new and unheard-of impost—that every man should give by benevolence that what he liked, yea, more truly what he did not like."[2] It is not only at this point of his reign that the King adopted such means of obtaining money: we find him "canvassing by word of mouth or by letter for direct gifts as early as 1462."[3] But it is evident that now he attempted it on a scale far beyond his previous operations. The fact that without disturbance he was able to collect considerable sums is proof of the power which he had attained. The old idea of Parliamentary supply and audit which placed the Sovereign under the necessity of reference to Parliament was deliberately disregarded. The King, by process of exhaustion, had become the one power in the

Benevolences.

[1] Stubbs, iii, p. 281.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 471.
[3] See Histor. MSS. Comm., Edward to the Prior of Worcester, March 13th, '62.

kingdom: to this he had won his way. The fact that steps of such significance could be taken without active resistance is evidence that the nation, on the whole, was prepared to recognise the King's position, though they chafed against the benevolences as a tiresome corollary of the strong Government for which they had longed.

But "that the benevolences were any great or widely felt hardship is improbable."[1] His methods were not always those of intimidation. An amusing story is told of how "he asked a rich old lady what she would give him towards the war." "For thy lovely face," she replied, "thou shalt have twenty pounds," being twice as much as the King expected; whereupon he thanked and kissed her, "to her great surprise and pleasure,—upon which she doubled the sum she had promised."[2] The Mayor of London gave £30, Aldermen, £10 to £16 each.[3] The wages of an archer for half-a-year was Edward's demand from an ordinary citizen. That he retained his popularity in spite of all is certain. Nevertheless it is suggested that his movements during the year 1474 were dictated by a desire to disarm opposition. Between March,[4] 1474, and January, 1475, he visited Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Coventry, Daventry, Guildford, Woodstock, Worcester, Gloucester, Bristol, Bedford, Bury St. Edmunds and Lincoln. As he rode he "used the people in such fair manner that he raised thereby notable sums of money." It was not

Edward's movements in the country in 1474.

[1] Stubbs, iii, p. 285.

[2] Stowe. See "Boke of Noblesse" (ed. Nichols), 1860. Introd.

[3] Vitellius, A., xvi; Fabyan, p. 662.

[4] On Feb. 26th he was at Windsor for a meeting of the Order of the Garter. See Ramsay, ii, pp. 397, 402.

a continuous progress as he was in London part of May, June, July and November. On June 29th some men of the King's household appear to have been attacked by those of the Constable while Edward was visiting a house "in the Chepe," to his great displeasure.[1] At Bristol he was welcomed with great enthusiasm, and was lodged in the Abbey of St. Augustine.[2] There he received the benevolence of the burgesses and of the adjoining counties. In January, 1475, he was in London again: after seven years he was now on the eve of his invasion of France.

[1] "Chronicle of London" (ed. Sir H. Ellis).
[2] Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," ii, p. 201.

CHAPTER XII

THE INVASION OF FRANCE. JULY—SEPTEMBER, 1475

Comparison of Edward IV with Henry V.

To follow the precedent set by Edward III and Henry V the King was induced by motives which compare badly with those which moved those warrior monarchs to assert an indefensible claim to the territories of their neighbour. The long wars which followed Crécy and Agincourt had merely succeeded in weakening both countries and sowing the seeds of the domestic trouble from which they were just emerging. But in both the former cases the real reasons were at least speciously covered by an impulse to foreign conquest which affected monarch and people alike. The bastard chivalry which animated Henry V had some measure of dignity, redeeming the war in a slight degree from the sordid appearance which its inner motives would have given. But in the case of Edward IV, though the old appeals are made, the old forms of chivalry observed, the reality shows through them with a distinctness which is the measure of the changes that time has brought. To begin with, Edward's was a figure of less heroic mould than that of Henry V. The austere, stern, almost Puritan son of the Church who took it on himself to act the part of Providence and punish the sins of the French, had some of the grandeur of the great cause under which he shrouded, to a certain extent sincerely, his intentions. But

Edward IV was no knight errant, no Crusader,[1] no man of dreams or any great ambitions, mistaken or otherwise. Consequently the motives of his invasion must be looked for in the plainest and most obvious feelings of self-interest and policy.

And if the King is a less heroic figure, so are the nobles. Their lack of patriotism, their selfish greed, the double-dealing exhibited by many of those around the King in the conduct of the sorry campaign—show them in dreadful contrast with the men of Crécy, Poitiers and Agincourt. But at the back of King and nobles were the people—and, mistaken as they were, they were still sound at heart. King and nobles had already passed, consciously or unconsciously, into a new world of international relationships and diplomacy: old motives were gone, new ones were not yet capable of definition. The new mind used still the appeal to the motives of the old mind, but it sounded hollow and unreal from the lips of the users. The people, however, could still be moved by it; still to them war was not a matter of reason but of a sentiment, deeply inbred it is true, but resting no longer on adequate cause.

Real motives for invading France.

The real motives of the war are to be sought in the self-interest of the King and his advisers. Personally Edward may have wished to show, on a European battlefield, the military talents which had gained him his throne. He doubtless desired, too, to revenge himself on King Louis for his help of the Lancastrians and Warwick. The constant urgency of the Duke of Brittany, whom Edward had good reason to wish

[1] He contented himself with giving Licenses to beg to distressed Greeks from Constantinople.—See "Excerpta Historica," p. 392, and Rot. Claus. 12, Edw. IV, Sept. 21st; See Addit. MS., Brit. Mus., 4614.

to please, and of the Duke of Burgundy, who had the best of reasons for wishing the English to attack his neighbour, must have weighed with him. Again, just as Henry V had sought to distract the nation from too great introspection, too great concentration on domestic problems, by a foreign war, so now Edward thought that by the same means he might still the jealousies and feuds of his nobility. There were many disbanded soldiers, the legacy of twenty years of warfare, unable and unwilling to find peaceable employment at home. In July, 1473,[1] he had had to issue a proclamation against able-bodied idlers. To employ them on a profitable venture abroad seemed politic. The Burgundian sympathies of the great merchants, and the chance of capturing a new market for their growing trade, would add a large body of sympathisers to those who wished for war. And at the back of his mind, perhaps, was the hope that the campaign might not be very arduous or protracted; Louis was not a fighting man. Money or territory might buy a peace that would justify the expedition.

National feeling for the invasion.

Among the nobles were many whose ancestors had profited by the wars of Henry V and Henry VI. The memory and tales of old glories would count for something with them: with the people it counted for much. Again and again they had responded to the appeal to support their King against the ancient enemy. The loss of France, but especially that of Normandy, Gascony and Guienne, had never been forgotten or forgiven. At the accession of their young King they had welcomed him as one who could win them back their lost territories, and urged him

[1] Addit. MS., Brit. Mus., 4614.

to the attempt. The feeling, felt in varying degrees by the mercenary and the honourable alike, was deep-seated, and it acted now, as it always does at the hint of war, by banishing everything else from the national consciousness ; making surely and almost inevitably for its own satisfaction. No one but a very strong, very just and wise monarch who could win the people to an effort of national regeneration at home, could have withstood it. It was the opinion of one contemporary foreign observer that no King of England could long retain his throne without a foreign war. So this remains to be said of Edward—that he was really representing his people and embodying and carrying into effect the national instinct. But this was one of the cases when such representativeness was bad. It meant popularity, but not real statesmanship.

New policy of King Edward towards Scotland in 1474.

King Edward, throughout the year 1474, and the early months of 1475, was occupied in gaining the goodwill of other powers before invading France. King James III, of Scotland, had shown himself amenable to the influence of the King of France, and in 1472-3 had nearly been persuaded to go to his assistance against Burgundy.[1] Edward saw that the neutrality at least of Scotland was absolutely necessary for the success of his expedition, and he now entered upon a new and definite policy as regards that country, which, if persisted in, would have saved both countries from much useless waste of life and treasure in time to come.[2] Scotland was poor : its greatest need was money. Recognising this fact, Edward determined on liberal proposals. A Scottish

[1] Lang, " History of Scotland," Vol. I, p. 342.
[2] See Pinkerton, pp. 279-289.

embassy came to England in July, 1474,[1] and a proposal was laid before them of a marriage between the infant James, heir of Scotland, and Edward's daughter, Cecily. A treaty was signed on the following terms. The marriage of James and Cecily was to take place at once, by proxy. If either of the children were to die, the heir of Scotland, whoever it might be, should marry a daughter of King Edward. The two monarchs undertook to assist each other against domestic rebels if necessity should arise; the truce previously made, to last till 1519, was again confirmed and proclaimed. Last, but not least in importance, Edward was to pay a large dowry for his daughter, of which the first payment was received by James on February 3rd, 1475. It was agreed that if no marriage eventually took place James should refund all money advanced as dowry beyond 2,500 marks.

Other treaties with foreign powers.

With Castile and Aragon the ancient treaties were renewed.[2] The friendship of the Hanse Towns had already been secured. The King of Denmark had been in friendly relations with England all the reign. In 1473 Edward had sent him a present of "ten yards of woollen cloth of green, at 8s. a yard; ten yards of woollen murrey, at 12s. a yard; twenty yards of woollen cloth of violet colour at 12s. a yard,"[3] after the custom of the time. King Christian had then ratified the treaties between Denmark and England for two years. The Abbot of Abingdon was sent to gain the goodwill of the Emperor and the

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 814.
[2] *Ibid.*, xii, p. 2.
[3] "Calendar of Docs. Relating to Scotland," Vol. IV. Easter, 1473.

Kings of Naples and Hungary.[1] Thus King Edward had secured himself on the North and East against any unfriendly act while engaged in France. There remained the countries on whose active assistance he was largely relying for the success of his expedition. Duke Francis of Brittany held a strong position: his possession of the persons of the Tudor Earls placed Edward under the obligation of considering him as an ally, while at the same time he was unable to rely on him for any considerable support. Since the summer of 1472 Charles had been vigorously prosecuting his scheme to make Burgundy a compact and independent middle kingdom. Meeting at first with some success, he had later failed to secure the support of the Emperor Frederick III. The King of France, too, had raised against him the Swiss Cantons. A League was formed of all the Upper Rhine districts against Burgundy. In July, 1474, Charles besieged Neuss, whence a year later he withdrew his shattered forces, having completely failed in the siege. Louis had already invaded and taken parts of Picardy.

The enterprises of the Duke of Burgundy, 1472-5.

Meanwhile in July, 1474, a treaty of perpetual friendship between Edward and Charles of Burgundy had been drawn up, the Duke agreeing to help Edward to conquer France, while Edward granted part of his expected conquests, Bar, Champagne, the Nivernois, Rhetel and Eu to Burgundy, Charles magnanimously consenting to allow his ally to be crowned at Rheims though it was in Champagne, which by that time would be his.[2] The King of England began to prepare his army. Parliament had made a further grant in February, 1475, and,

Treaty with Burgundy, July, 1474.

[1] Rymer, xi, p. 816.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 804-813.

though people began to grumble at the unusual exactions, sufficient money had been accumulated for an expedition of first-rate strength. Throughout the next few months all England was busy with preparations. The army was raised, as was that of Edward III, by contract between the Crown and the lords and others for the supply of men at a fixed rate of pay. The captains vied with each other in the quantity and quality of the troops they raised. There was no difficulty in getting men, as apart from the means of voluntary enlistment, the method of impressment, closely resembling that of the more modern press gang, was employed. Ordnance was prepared, and other weapons of warfare, including a new engine which required fifty horses to draw it, designed for trenching operations. By the end of May the army was ready and was ordered to assemble at Portsdown on May 26th. It consisted of " 1,150 spears, and 9,143 bows "[1] which with other arms and services brought up the total to 11,000 men, excellently equipped. A force of 2,000 archers under the Lords Audley and Duras was sent to Brittany to enter France from that side ; Burgundy was to attack on the other flank. The Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk ; the Queen's son, the Marquis of Dorset ; the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Rivers and Ormond ; Lords Grey de Ruthyn, Grey of Codnor, Hastings, Fitz-Waryn, de l'Isle, Cobham, Scrope, Stanley, Ferrers, Howard and the Scottish exiles, Earl Douglas and Lord Boyd, were in command of companies. Clarence and Gloucester " apparently divided the chief command under the King."[2]

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 407.
[2] *Ibid., ut supra.*

Three alternatives presented themselves to King Edward.[1] He might land in Guienne, where public feeling was still largely friendly to England. But to this the Duke of Burgundy would not agree. It was a very long way from the heart of France, then, as now, Paris. The Duke of Brittany favoured this course, and the second alternative, a landing at Calais, would lose the English his active support. The third alternative was a landing in Normandy—a course which Charles strongly recommended. But Louis, with an army, was watching the mouth of the Seine, and Edward decided for an unopposed landing at Calais. Thus at the very outset the Duke of Burgundy was disappointed. He had pointed out the extreme difficulty of supporting two armies, his own and that of Edward, on the country round Calais; Louis carefully ravaged and burnt from the Somme to Hesdin in order that his enemy should at once suffer from lack of fresh provisions.[2] The Count of St. Pol had given false information that Edward was to land in Normandy and Louis at once took his army in that direction.[3] Thus, by the beginning of July, Edward's army, crossing in flat-bottomed boats provided by the Duke of Burgundy, landed at Calais. The King left London on July 4th; he was at Canterbury from the 6th to the 10th where he interviewed the authorities from the ports, and wrote a final whip to the Mayor and Aldermen of London urging them to summon all in the City worth 100 marks or more and find out what they would be willing to give. "It would be a pity if lack of money should spoil the

Alternative plans of invasion.

[1] See Kirk, "Charles the Bold," iii, p. 140.
[2] Commines-Dupont, iii, p. 301.
[3] Sismondi.

expedition."[1] On the 20th he arrived at Sandwich, where he executed an instrument appointing his son Prince Edward of Wales, Custos and Lieutenant of the kingdom in his absence. He also completed and delivered to safe keeping his will, a proceeding which the course of the coming campaign rendered premature.[2] On July 4th he crossed to Calais, being among the last of the English forces to land. There he was met by his sister Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy; she remained with him until the 14th. But her lord tarried. On June 27th he had at last abandoned the siege of Neuss. The foreign writers of the time remark on the "stupidity" of an English army on first landing in France.[3] They knew nothing of the country or the people, and it was particularly necessary that they should be at once given the guidance of some Continental captain. Accordingly at Calais they looked anxiously for the coming of Duke Charles with the splendid army that they expected him to bring to join them. King Louis, on July 15th, was still waiting for news as to the arrival and intentions of the English: "they have done nothing yet but dance at St. Omer; and we do not know for certain if the King of England has landed."[4] On July 14th the Duke of Burgundy arrived at Calais,[5] but to the amazement and indignation of his ally's troops, he was accompanied only by a small retinue. Edward did not yet know of the extent of his ally's failure.

Edward lands at Calais, July 4th, 1475.

[1] Halliwell, i, p. 144.
[2] "Excerpta Historica," p. 366.
[3] See Brugière de Barante, x, p. 351.
[4] See Hare's "Louis," xi, p. 208; Commines, ed, Dupont, iii, p. 301.
[5] Commines is the authority for this Chapter. See also Jean de Molinet "Chronique" (Buchon, 1828), pp. 139 *seq.*

Charles admired the English force, saying that with it he could have marched through France to the very gates of Rome.[1] He went on to assure King Edward that his own army, in excellent condition, was near at hand. But he at once expressed his displeasure at the choice of Calais as landing-place, and announced that he was willing to make war in concert with the English, but not in company with them—as, indeed, he was free to do, no stipulation having been made that he should join his force to that of King Edward. He proposed that he should make Luxemburg, now invaded by the allies of the French, his base, sweep the French from Lorraine, making conquests of the territories guaranteed to him by his treaty with Edward, as he advanced—and arrive, finally, at Rheims for Edward's coronation. The English should cross the Somme and move by Laon and Soissons on Rheims, the Bretons threatening the French rear if they attacked the English. To these proposals Edward was obliged to agree, but that he and his captains were already suspicious and uneasy was obvious. After he had entertained the Duke for four days, the allies moved to Guines on July 18th. The next day the Duke went off to St. Omer, returning to the English host on the 22nd at Fauquembergh, where King Edward "raised the richest tent ever seen."[2] Advancing thence the English host arrived and encamped for two nights by the battlefield of Agincourt. Many of the English commanders had with them the deeds of purchase and registration, duly sealed, under which their ancestors had held possessions in France and the Duchies. Their early

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 472.
[2] "Boke of Noblesse." (Ed. Nichols.) Introd., p. xxiv.

Disillusionment of the English.

confidence and boastfulness was now beginning to desert them; the motives and spirit of the host were vastly different from those of the men of sixty years before. Thence the army straggled forward to Hamecourt where the King was visited by the Duke of Burgundy on July 29th. Some supplies were forthcoming from the lordships of Burgundy, but over all the host hung a spirit of uncertainty, suspicion and dejection. They were puzzled at the behaviour of the Duke, who appeared and disappeared almost daily, but always left them to sleep outside his towns, visiting Edward in the farms in which he spent the nights. This invidious treatment of his allies became more apparent when they arrived at Peronne about August 6th. The precautions taken to prevent the English entering the town in any numbers were obvious to all. King Edward, still accompanied by the Duke, led his army on till it came before St. Quentin. This, one of the Somme towns, was held as a royal fortress by the Constable of France, the Count of St. Pol, a nobleman who had long profited by the dissensions of France and Burgundy. The position of his territories had enabled him to play off one against the other for his own advantage, and he was responsible for much of their misunderstanding. He had written to the Duke of Burgundy that he had been unable to give up St. Quentin to him before because he would too soon have lost credit with King Louis—whom it was necessary to deceive.[1] But when Edward with his host arrived before the town he refused to admit him in spite of the fact that he had promised by letter to hand over the town to the English on their approach. He even fired upon the

The host is refused entrance to St. Quentin.

[1] Barante, x, p. 356.

host which remained in the open in shocking weather, shelterless outside the town. Edward's discouragement and disillusionment was complete. No rising of the people, such as he had hoped for, promised him assistance in France : the Duke of Brittany remained quiet, overawed by King Louis, and though he said he would do more by plots and intrigues for the English than the Duke of Burgundy would with his army, that, as it happened, was not much. The treachery of the Count of St. Pol decided the already willing King and his captains to a course which had been suggested some time before. At the outset of the campaign the King of England, in accordance with the laws of chivalry, had sent to King Louis, Garter King of Arms, with a letter in French announcing his claims and intentions. The French King, nothing perturbed, said that he knew that the Duke of Burgundy and the Count of St. Pol were the cause of the invasion, and that they would infallibly deceive their ally. The Burgundian army had been ruined at Neuss, was in an awful condition, and would be useless to the King. The herald, after receiving 300 crowns and a promise of 1,000 more when peace should be made, dropped a hint that if Louis had proposals to make, the Lords Hastings and Stanley were very influential with his master.

That there was a large party who despaired of the campaign, or were glad of an excuse to abandon it, we know. These men had spoken of a return home at Calais directly they saw the ill-preparedness of the Duke of Burgundy. Before St. Quentin the English had taken a certain Jacques de Grassay, who was released as being the first prisoner. The Lords Stanley and Howard at his dismissal, gave him certain

messages for King Louis. It was necessary to keep the affair very quiet: the French people were far more ready to fight than their King; the English spirit, now depressed, might easily be roused: the Duke of Burgundy had just left the English host and time pressed. In order that the absence of a regular herald should not be noticed, Louis dressed as a herald the valet of one of his Lords, a fellow whose readiness and address had attracted his notice some time before, and sent him to the English host. He was taken and brought to the King, and after dinner delivered his master's messages. Louis pointed out the fact that war between the two countries would be mutually destructive and expensive—more so than Edward had thought—for by now he must see that the Duke of Burgundy had deceived him; the conquest of France would be no easy matter for an army so situated as that of the English. He himself was anxious to come to terms, and knowing the expense to which the King of England had been put, he would not be found illiberal in his proposals as to compensation. Edward was only too willing to listen. Assembling his captains he sounded them as to their disposition:[1] the majority, dwelling on the failure of the Dukes of Brittany and Burgundy and the Count of St. Pol to fulfil their pledges, the expense and labour which lay before them, their privations and the lateness of the season, begged him to listen to the overtures of the King of France. Accordingly passports were interchanged, and three English commissioners next morning met the French commissioners near Amiens; their instructions were signed by the King and twenty-two Lords. It was at once discovered that there

Edward enters into negotiations with Louis.

[1] Molinet, p. 144.

was no hope of coming to terms on the basis of any cession of territory : but of money Louis was prepared to make the most liberal provision. For the next few days negotiations continued, the King of France in the meantime sending cartloads of provisions and wine to the English host, promising pensions to several of the nobles, and generally showing himself anxious to bring affairs to a satisfactory conclusion.

On August 19th the Duke of Burgundy, who had returned to Peronne and heard of Edward's meditated withdrawal from the war, visited him at his camp near Saint Christ, on the Somme. He found him consulting with some of his nobles and, when Edward asked if he would not prefer a private interview, broke into a torrent of abuse—in English—before the whole company. He compared Edward's conduct with that of his predecessors, Edward III and Henry V, and finally, realising that he was powerless to alter his decision, rushed from his presence. Next day he returned to take leave of his ally ; but we do not know whether he attempted further remonstrance.

Awkward position of the Count of St. Pol.

But no one was more surprised and alarmed by the turn events had taken than the Count of St. Pol. He wrote to Edward begging him not to rely on Louis's word, saying that he had only been kept out of St. Quentin by rash soldiers and jealous townsmen, advising him to demand the towns of Eu and St. Valérie from the French King to billet his soldiers, and offering a loan of 50,000 crowns. But Edward, at the very opening of negotiations with Louis, had sent to that monarch information as to the assurances of help and encouragement in his invasion, which he had received from various French nobles, among

them the Count of St. Pol. The latter desperately sent to King Louis to claim that he was responsible for the breach between the English King and the Duke of Burgundy. Louis listened to his envoy, and so did an agent of the Duke of Burgundy who had been secreted behind a curtain for the purpose, and had the interesting experience of hearing his master mimicked and ridiculed, and Edward assailed with course abuse, the old scandal as to his birth being brought up against him. It was clear that the day of St. Pol was drawing to an end.

The treaty with France, August, 1475.

By this time the two sovereigns had arrived at the following terms of treaty. The Dauphin was to marry the King's eldest daughter, Elizabeth, failing whom, Mary, his second daughter, was to be the bride. Louis was to pay down a sum of 75,000 crowns, about £15,000, to enable Edward to pay and disband his army, and a yearly sum of 50,000 crowns, or £10,000, annually during Edward's life. Louis undertook to guarantee the money by obtaining a Bull from the Pope putting his country under an interdict in case of non-payment. The pension was to be paid in halves through the Bank of the Medici at Easter and Michaelmas every year. A further sum of 50,000 crowns was to ransom Margaret of Anjou. Edward undertook to evacuate France and submit the question of his claims and all differences to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Clarence and two French representatives, who were to give their decision in three years. A truce, to last till August 29th, 1482, was followed by a treaty of friendship between the two kings for their respective lives. Burgundy and Brittany and the

other allies of both parties[1] were to be included in the peace if they wish. These proceedings bring us up to August 29th.

Critical situation.

The English host in the meantime poured into Amiens and gave itself up to feasting and drinking at the invitation of King Louis. At one time, so bad had the English discipline become, and so utterly careless were they of all military watchfulness, that the French could easily have surprised and crushed the entire force. But Louis meant to keep his word, and upon his sending to King Edward to represent the condition of his men, the English King was ashamed of the disorder, and mutual precautions were taken to guard against any outbreak. King Louis realised how dangerous was the ground on which he was treading, and made desperate efforts to keep his countrymen from anything which might awaken the English spirit. A considerable party in the host, headed by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, made no attempt to hide their indignation at such an end to such an expedition. Any sign of over satisfaction on the part of the French, any hint that the English had been duped, might lead to the failure of the whole negotiation.

Interview of Edward and Louis at Picquigny.

For the signing of the treaties and the final settlement of details it was arranged that the two monarchs should meet. The Bridge over the Somme at

[1] The French allies were the Emperor, the Electors of the Empire; the Kings of Castile, Denmark, Scotland, Jerusalem, Sicily, Hungary; the Dukes of Savoy, Milan, Genoa, Lorraine, the Bishop of Metz; the Communities of Florence, Berne; and La Ligue de la Haute Allemagne. The English allies: the Kings of the Romans, Castile, Portugal, Jerusalem, Sicily, Aragon, Denmark, Hungary; the Dukes of Burgundy and Brittany; the Teutonic Hanse.—See Addit. MSS. 9346, Brit. Mus., f. 116.

Picquigny was finally chosen as a suitable place. Memories of Montereau[1] made it inevitable that every precaution against treachery must be taken. Accordingly a cage of strong wooden lattice was erected on the Bridge—the gap between each bar only wide enough to admit one arm: the cage was roofed, and on each side of the bars which bisected it there was room for ten or twelve men. On August 29th the English force was drawn up near the Bridge, and on the other bank Louis arrived with 800 men. After the arrangements on the Bridge had been inspected by four representatives of either King, Louis, attended by the Duke, the Cardinal of Bourbon and others advanced to the barrier. Then King Edward, accompanied by the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Northumberland, Lord Hastings, the Chancellor and others came forward to meet them. De Commines, who was with King Louis, noted that Edward was wearing a black velvet cap adorned with a *fleur de lis* in precious stones, and as he took it off and bowed to within a foot of the ground, Commines remarked his "noble and majestic presence, but a little inclining to corpulence. I had seen him before when the Earl of Warwick drove him out of his kingdom; then I thought him much handsomer, and to the best of my remembrance my eyes had never beheld a more handsome person." "Cousin, you are heartily welcome; there is no person living I was so ambitious of seeing, and God be thanked that this interview is upon so good an occasion"—was the greeting of King Louis, to which Edward made reply

[1] On September 9th, 1419, John, Duke of Burgundy, was murdered by the attendants of Charles the Dauphin at an interview at the Bridge of Montereau.

" in very good French." The documents containing the treaties were then produced, and both Kings swore on the missal and the Holy True Cross to keep it. Louis then jokingly said he would be glad to see Edward in Paris: " and if that he would come and divert himself with the ladies, he would assign him the Cardinal of Bourbon for his confessor, who he knew would willingly absolve him " if he should chance to need his offices. " The King of England was extremely pleased with his raillery and made his majesty several good repartees, for he knew the Cardinal was a jolly companion." The signal was then given for the attendants to withdraw out of earshot, and the Kings conversed privately for half an hour. Louis then called forward Philip de Commines and asked Edward if he remembered him. " Yes," said Edward, " he took much trouble to do me service in Calais at the time of Warwick's rebellion."[1] The French monarch then sounded Edward as to his allies of Burgundy and Brittany,—if the former should refuse to be comprehended in the treaty what should be done? Edward replied that if Charles were obstinate he would leave him to settle affairs with France for himself. " And Brittany? " " The King of England desired he would not attempt anything against the Duke of Brittany " for " in his necessity he had never found so true and faithful a friend." The interview was then brought to an end —Louis returning to Amiens, Edward to his army, which was supplied with everything it could want by the French. Louis extremely regretted that he had allowed himself to suggest that Edward should visit Paris: " his predecessors have been too often

[1] Barante, x, p. 388.

in Paris and Normandy already." Accordingly when Lord Howard took an early opportunity of telling him privately that he thought he could manage to bring Edward to accompany him to Paris, he dissembled very cleverly and put the matter off by pretending that an expedition against the Duke of Burgundy would require his immediate departure. Moreover, Edward's firmness on behalf of the Duke of Brittany much disappointed him: but when he opened the subject again the King of England declared "that if any prince invaded the Duke of Brittany's dominions he would cross the seas once more in his defence."

The Duke of Gloucester had signified his displeasure at Edward's policy by absenting himself from the interview at the Bridge of Picquigny. He was not the only man in the host who felt that this was the first battle King Edward had lost, and that the ignominy of returning to England after such vast preparations would outweigh the glory of all his former victories. However, like others of the British nobles, he was flattered and entertained by King Louis, who made him presents of plate and horses.

By September 4th the English, who had been attacked by the peasants in the Boulonnais in their retreat, probably at the suggestion of the Duke of Burgundy, were safely in Calais, and late in the month the King returned to England; on the 28th he was met at Blackheath, by the Mayor and Aldermen and 500 Commoners and conducted, as a conqueror, to Westminster.[1]

Edward arrives in London, September 28th.

The Duke of Burgundy refused to be made a party to the truces, determining to show that he owed

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi.

nothing to his ally and could support the war on his own account, without English help. This attitude greatly offended King Edward, who sent Sir Thomas Montgomery to the King of France begging him not to grant the separate truce with the Duke, which would have made it seem that the English had in no way advanced his affairs. He even offered to return to France in the following spring with a powerful army, of which Louis should pay half the expenses, and assist him against the Duke if he would continue the war against him. Louis was, however, not anxious to have an English army again upon his soil; it suited him to grant Burgundy his separate truce, so, with many presents and compliments he dismissed the English envoy saying the truce was already made.

The opinions of the peace and the war parties.

"Blessed be God this voyage of the King is finished for this time," wrote Sir John Paston from Calais.[1] King Edward had secured a party who favoured the policy he adopted. He had brought to France with him, according to Commines, "ten or twelve of the chief citizens of London, and other towns in England, all fat and jolly, the leaders of the English commons, of great power in their country, such as had promoted the war. The King ordered very fine tents for them in which they lay, but that not being the way of living they had been used to, they soon began to grow weary of the campaign, for they expected they should come to an engagement within three days after their landing, and the King multiplied their fears and exaggerated the danger of a war on purpose that they might be better satisfied with a peace and aid him to pacify the murmurs of the people upon his return into

[1] "Paston Letters," v, p. 237.

England." Some, however, of the bolder spirits in the army, it is said to the number of 2,000, remained behind to fight the battles of Charles of Burgundy, who remarked that they "would only cut each other's throats if they returned to England."[1] Others who did return so far justified Duke Charles in that they took " to theft and rapine, so that no road throughout England was left in a state of safety for either merchants or pilgrims." " The King was compelled, in person, together with his judges, to make a survey of the kingdom, and no one, not even his own domestic, did he spare, but instantly had him hanged, if he was found to be guilty of theft or murder. These rigorous sentences being universally carried into execution, public acts of robbery were soon put a stop to for a considerable time. However, if this prudent prince had not manfully put an end to this commencement of mischief, the numbers of people complaining of the unfair management of the resources of the kingdom, in consequence of such quantities of treasure being abstracted from the coffers of each, and uselessly consumed, would have increased to such a degree that no one could have said whose head, among the King's advisers, was in safety: and the more especially those, who, induced by friendship for the French King or by his presents, had persuaded the King to make peace in the manner previously mentioned."[2] The danger was real. A Warwick even now might have raised an insurrection which would have unseated the King from his throne. But the danger served only to emphasise the lessons which he had previously learned. He saw now more clearly than

Stern measures of King Edward to put down disorder.

[1] " Venetian Papers," p. 449.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 473.

ever that he must not again appeal to his people for money, but must turn to other means of supporting the dignity of the Crown. England asked only to be left free from taxes—that granted, the King's will could have its way. At this point the evolution of Edward the absolute ruler is complete. If he became a despot his people made him so: they deliberately, for the sake of strong government, peace and freedom from taxation abandoned the constitutional guarantees by which through long years they had controlled and directed the kingship. Constitutionalism had not brought liberty, but weakness and disorder—therefore it was allowed, by tacit consent, to remain inactive. But nothing was altered; no legal enactment registered the change, the forms were still there, waiting for the time and the men that could give them life.

The King subdued the present discontent with a heavy hand, but the fact that, on the ground that "it pleased Almighty God to put in the mind of our cousin Louis of France to insist and labour for peace,"[1] he remitted the amount of the subsidies not yet collected, was an earnest of his future intentions. The financial history of the rest of his reign was a strange one, but it satisfied the people.

Consideration of Edward's policy in withdrawing from France.

It has been said that from his French expedition King Edward went home "outwitted and dishonoured."[2] Some examination of this statement will suggest the possibility of a different verdict. Dishonoured he certainly was before ever he left the shores of England. The motives of his invasion of France, as has been shown, were sordid, mercenary,

[1] "Records of the Borough of Nottingham," ii, Oct. 6th, 1475.
[2] Fletcher, i, p. 361.

time-serving and ignoble from any point of view. But the failure of his allies of Brittany and Burgundy, the enormous financial efforts to which he and the country would have been put if the war were to be waged to a conclusion may count for something in mitigating our scorn at its inglorious termination. The prospect of another hundred years' war was unthinkable : and by herself England must have lost in the long run, even if she had won victories at first. Besides, circumstances had altered ; so long as Burgundy was under a ruler of steady and sane purpose the policy of supporting it, especially in view of England's trading relations, was a sound one. To have as ally a strong middle kingdom between the Empire and France had much to recommend it, in face of the obvious growth and consolidation of France under its clever and masterful King. But Charles " the Rash " was not such a ruler : his ambitious projects were ill-considered and exaggerated, his methods brutal, impolitic, and, by 1475, pretty obviously doomed to failure. Louis was his master, as he was that of the Duke of Brittany. It was useless to rely on such an ally. In these circumstances the policy of Edward in accepting peace bears the marks of selfishness and lack of generosity : but not the lack of statesmanship. King Louis, utterly careless of externals and appearances, if he could secure the reality, knew well that he had driven a barrier in between Edward and Duke Charles that could never be crossed. An end must come to the furious enterprises of the Duke of Burgundy : then perhaps he would be free to defy and disdain the King of England. In the meantime, he had nothing to gain by a long war with him. Had the King of

England? If subsequently, in his ever-growing lethargic self-confidence, his ever-growing love of ease, he was deceived and outwitted by his adversary, that does not say that he was wrong at the moment to accept the commonsense view of an impossible situation. From merely monetary considerations the receipt of some £50,000 from an enemy with whom he had not even crossed swords was an unromantic but very practical advantage. The promised marriage of his daughter to the heir of France, a daughter with whom he gave no dowry, might seem a pledge of the success of a policy which would end for long years the weary rivalry and irritating hostilities that hampered both nations; and though events were to happen which induced Louis to abandon his promise, there is nothing to show that such was always his intention. The fact seems to be that this mercenary settlement of an age-long quarrel, a settlement typical of the changing ideals of the time, was one eminently convenient to both Kings; that King Louis was Edward's master in statecraft is undoubted; that he may have deliberately submitted to temporary humiliation for future triumph is possible, for that he did ultimately outwit and flout him is patent. But it is hard to see how else the war, arrived at such a stage, was to be ended and what else Edward could have done.

CHAPTER XIII

EDWARD AS KING AND MAN

Edward's administrative and fiscal measures.

THE policy of creating a nobility dependent on himself, which the King had adopted after his marriage in view of the excessive power of the Neville faction, carried with it a change in the relative importance of the various classes of the people. Always awake to the necessity of preserving the goodwill of London and the mercantile interests, Edward now turned to occupations which, hitherto considered unworthy of a King, were of the greatest consequence for the future of the country. That he foresaw the effects of what he was doing is improbable : he was eminently practical, and the necessity for finding fresh means of getting money without direct taxation alone suggested a policy that, unconstitutional, hard, in some cases despotic and dishonest as it was, involved measures and innovations which were for the ultimate benefit of England. In the first place, he betook himself to a strict system of administration. " Throughout all parts of the kingdom he appointed inspectors of the customs, men of remarkable shrewdness, but too hard, according to general report, upon the merchants. . . . . He also examined the register and rolls of Chancery, and exacted many fines from those whom he found to have intruded and taken possession of estates without prosecuting their rights in form required by law, by way of return for the rents which they had in the meantime received. These, and more of a similar nature than can possibly be conceived

by a man who is inexperienced in such matters, were his methods of making a purse."[1] One such method, which at such a stage in the nation's history would only suggest itself to an unscrupulous and despotic financier was to appropriate the revenues of vacant prelacies until, by payment of a heavy sum, they were redeemed by the incoming Bishop.[2]

Edward's trading adventures.

But he also turned to trade. "Having procured merchant ships, he put on board of them the finest wools, cloths, tin, and other productions of the kingdom, and, like a private individual living by trade, exchanged merchandise for merchandise by means of his factors, among both Italians and Greeks." The alliance between the Crown and the trading classes, begun under Edward III, thus received a significance which, during the next century, was developed and confirmed. The importance of the middle classes began under a King, by now practically absolute: they then began to acquire the strength which eventually they were to turn to the limitation of the power that first fostered them; it is a curious revenge of time which made them the champions of the liberties of the people against the Crown.

Commercial policy.

The only statutes of importance passed by Edward's subservient parliaments are those for the regulation of trade. In 1463, 1465, 1467, 1472, 1474, 1475, the standard of wools for export, the places of shipment, were carefully regulated. The importation of foreign woollens and silks was absolutely forbidden—the whole theory of international exchange being on the most rigid lines of the exclusion of foreign competition and the fostering of home industries. No goods were to be exported in foreign bottoms if native freight

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 474. [2] *Ibid.*

could be procured. But it must be remembered that England had not yet emerged from the stage of transition from an agricultural to a commercial importance. Side by side with a system of protection went an improvement in manufacture which would in later times secure her a certain market for her goods. To protect the farmer by forbidding the importation of corn when "the quarter of wheat did not exceed the price of 6s. 8d., rye, 4s., and barley, 3s.," seemed an act of wisdom so long as the trade of the country was so much localised. There was not sufficient international exchange to employ a sufficient proportion of the population: the industries in which England had a natural advantage were neither numerous nor extensive enough to enable her to concentrate on purely commercial production in return for a cheap food supply. A note of democracy is sounded in various acts by which the Government sought to find regular and profitable employment for the people. The export of raw wool, except of the worst qualities, is regarded as foolish: England's profit lay in making all the fine wool into clothes at home. The poor artisans and miners were suffering from the miseries of an unregulated system of capitalism. "The poor have the labour and the rich the gain." The employers were in the habit of paying half the wages of their workmen in merchandise, and cheating them in the quality and quantity of the goods they supplied to make up their wages. This was felt to be an intolerable grievance, and there is a clear demand for an Act to forbid it, and command full payment of wages in cash.[1]

[1] See Wright's "Political Poems and Songs," "On England's Commercial Policy," i, p. 282.

Edward and the Navy.

Yet trade was increasing, and the country as a whole growing richer and more prosperous. A bye-product of the King's policy was the growth of England's sea power. "It was not until the reign of Henry VIII that any attempt was made to organise the Navy as a permanent force."[1] But Edward had many ships of his own which were used in time of peace for his mercantile operations. *Le Grace de Dieu, le Henry, le Antony, le Great Portingale, le Spagnard, le Henry Ashe*[2] could be called up for war against Scotland, used to protect small English trading vessels, or sent off on the voyages by which the King enriched himself. He had obtained from William Cannynge of Bristol, in 1461, 2,470 tons of shipping, including the *Mary and John* of 900 tons and the *Mary Redcliffe* of 500—ships of the largest size at the time.[3]

At the same time an effort was made to encourage the practice of archery.[4] Four bowstaves were ordered to be brought with every ton of merchandise imported by aliens from certain countries: certain games, "Closh, Kailes, Hand-in, Hand-out, Queckboard," which occupied the people to the exclusion of their ancient fondness for archery, were forbidden.[5] Long bows, which were becoming too expensive, were forbidden to be sold at a higher price than 3s. 4d.

Edward's impatience of forms.

As an administrator King Edward showed impatience of forms and a determination, where he chose, to disregard them. Under the Lancastrian kings it had been the practice of the Chancellor not to affix

[1] Fielden's "Constit. Hist. of England," p. 320.
[2] "Archæologia," xi, p. 156.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Statutes, 12 Ed. IV and 22 Ed. IV.
[5] Statutes, 18 Ed. IV.

the Great Seal to any directions received from the King unless sealed with the Privy Seal. From the beginning of his reign Edward disregarded the formality, and enforced his directions by adding to formal commissions his commands in his own hand.[1] In a letter to George Neville, when Chancellor, signed by the King and sealed with his signet, conveying a commission of oyer and terminer in connection with riots at Bristol, he wrote, "Cozyn, yff ye thynke ye schall have a warrant, thys our wryten that soffyse unto ye may have on made in dew forme: We pray you hyt fayle not."[2] In 1465 Sir Robert Kirkham, Master of the Rolls, hesitated to issue a safe conduct for the crew of a Spanish vessel at Southampton in spite of receiving "Letters of Warrant under Privy Seal." The King wrote saying that if the warrant issued was not sufficient, it should be renewed, adding the words "albeit our speech to you, us thinketh, was sufficient warrant"; then in his own hand, "Sir, we will the premises be speed without delay." "My Lord Chancellor, we pray you spede this Bill, and take it for your warrant." "This we will ye speed in any wise, as our trust is in you; and these our Letters shall be unto you sufficient warrant and discharge." . . . . . "My Lord Chanselor,—thys most be don"—were his directions on other occasions. In March, 1467, he wrote to the Chancellor under his signet and sign manual "for so much as we, have created our dear nephew John, son and heir to our right trusty, and well beloved brother, the Duke of Suffolk, Earl of

[1] See "Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council," Henry VI. Introduction by Sir H. Nicolas, p. cxcv.

[2] These quotations are from "Proceedings and Ordinances," as above.

Lincoln, as shall appear unto you by our letters under our signet, which we send unto you by the bearer hereof, we therefore desire and pray you, that by warrant of our said Letters and of these, considering the great distance hence, and absence of our Privy Seal, yet do make out Letters Patent of the said Creation, without failing, as our trust is in you; wherein ye shall do us a singular pleasure."

One such instance can be seen in the British Museum —on a commission to William Slefeld to treat for perpetual peace with Brittany the King wrote, "We will that this power be given unto William Slefeld oonly and this signed with our hand to be suffisant warrant for the same."[1]

Edward's absolutism.

In these instances the King's masterful will is apparent, and an entire reliance on his absolute right to order and alter as he sees fit. It is fortunate that he was, like his rival of France, concerned with the reality rather than the form or legality of power. He attempted no alteration of the constitutional enactments—he merely ignored them. He formulated no theory of absolutism, attempted no statutory recognition of his prerogative, but was content to disregard rather than to repeal, to have power rather than to claim it. In short, his domestic policy was one simply of strict administration. There were no vacillations or changes of policy. The men to whom he entrusted the work of government were such as had shown themselves capable, willing, faithful and obedient[2]—there is no hint of any policy but that of the King. His name covers all, such as it was, that was done by the government after the

[1] See Addit. MS., Brit. Mus., 19398 f.. 38 b.
[2] Ramsay, ii, p. 453.

fall of Warwick. He did not capriciously change his men—Hastings, Howard, Essex, and later Morton and John Russell remained in office for long periods. Espionage formed part of the system to which repeated rebellions drove the King: this was extended particularly during the last five years of the reign.[1] Edward had an excellent memory and a real talent for organisation. All details of government and administration were kept in his firm grip. "For as he had taken care to distribute the most trustworthy of his servants throughout all parts of the kingdom, as keepers of castles, manors, forests and parks, no attempt whatever could be made in any part of the kingdom by any person, however shrewd he might be, but what he was immediately charged with the same to his face."[2] He "had a memory so retentive, in all respects, that the manor and estates used to recur to him, just as though he had been in the habit of seeing them daily, of nearly all the persons dispersed throughout the counties of his kingdom; and this, even if in the districts in which they lived, they held the rank only of a private gentleman."[3]

Building. Like most strong kings, he was a builder. Nottingham and Dover Castles were repaired, the palace at Eltham enlarged and that at Sheen repaired;[4] the walls of the City of London were rebuilt during his reign, the Tower, Whitehall and the Customs House were also restored. Most lasting and interesting of all was the rebuilding of St. George's Chapel at Windsor.

[1] See Devon, "Issues," for many payments for secret services.

[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 480.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 484.

[4] See Habington, p. 28; Ramsay, ii, p. 431.

"Leaving the old Chapel or College Church, builded by King Henry I" (it was really Henry III) "he laid a new foundation from the West end thereof, and builded the beautiful large new Chapell now frequented, almost to the roof, which Reginald Bray (with some small helpe of the Knights of the Order) afterwards finished. King Edward IV took from the College of Eaton[1] and the King's College at Cambridge, which King Henry VI had founded (saith Sir Thomas Smith) almost £1,000 by yere, and gave to the College of Windsor."[2] The Chapel "of Henry III was thus left as a detached building to the East of the new Chapel" to be in time pulled down and rebuilt by Henry VII.[3]

Edward and learning.

The widespread character of England's foreign trade —more than twenty-five foreign countries and centres of commerce are enumerated as having trade relations with England[4]—brought into the country something of the new spirit that was stirring abroad. In 1474 Caxton produced the first English book ever printed, his "Recueil of the Histories of Troy," followed in 1477 by the "Dictes and Sayings of the Philosophers," which had been translated by Antony, Earl Rivers, from a French original. John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, distinguished by the brutality of his judgments as Constable, was nevertheless a man of culture beyond his time in England. He wrote for and dedicated to Edward IV several books, historical and literary.[5] John Morton, a Lancastrian, whose attainder was reversed after the battle of Tewkesbury,

[1] See "Brief Latin Chronicle," p. 177.
[2] Stowe, p. 434.
[3] Ramsay, ii, p. 468.
[4] Wright's "Polit. Poems," p. 282.
[5] See "Chronicles of the White Rose," pp. 194-211.

became Lord Chancellor, by successive steps of promotion, in 1478; he was a man of learning, liberality and enterprise, and was held in the highest esteem by the King.

"The Earls of Arundel and Essex, Hastings and . . . Richard of Gloucester were all friends of learning."[1] Sir Thomas Littleton, "author of the best book on Land Tenures," Sir John Fortescue, author of those admirable political treatises the "Governance of England" and "De Laudibus Legum Angliae," both ornamented their profession by their learning and integrity. Earl Rivers, the early patron of Caxton, "by his continual presence about the King and Queen, cherished a love of literature in the former,"[2] who took great care that his son should have the benefit of the culture which his own early participation in public affairs had denied to him. We have already noticed his interest in the literary employments of his host in Holland, Louis de Bruges. Among the books of the Royal library in 1480 we find "Titus Livius," "The Holy Trinity," "Frossard," "Bible Historical," "Le Gouvernement of Kings and Princes," "La Forteresse de Foi," the "Book of Josephus," all in handsome bindings, carefully kept in repair.[3] It is clear that the King took a real interest in learning, and was anxious to show it. He gave £20 to Caxton "for certain causes and matters performed by him for the King."[4]

The foundation of Queen Margaret at Cambridge was continued and developed by Elizabeth Woodville. St. Catherine's Hall in the same University was

[1] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 470.
[2] "Chronicles of the White Rose," p. 210.
[3] Wardrobe Accounts, 1480.
[4] Devon, "Issues." Easter, 19 Ed. IV.

founded: Lincoln College, Oxford, was enlarged during the reign.

Thus it is apparent that, brutal as the times were, immoral and sensual as was the tone of the Court, there were signs of an enlightenment that perhaps show more distinctly against the prevailing intellectual darkness. Not only so, but a growth of luxury, a new delight in brightness, a new joy of life are evidenced by the various records we have of the material adornment of the Court, the dress of King and courtiers; and this was in itself healthy and natural, and undoubtedly conduced to a widening outlook, a growing interest in material progress which was not the least of the needs of the time. Such symptoms of material advance are the more striking in comparison with the spiritual apathy and decadence which had fallen upon the Church in England. The King went on pilgrimage, "offered" and made vows to his favourite saints with exemplary regularity. But much superstition had overgrown and deadened the spirit of true religion, as may be seen by a reference to the horrible list of relics given in the account of the visit to the English Court of the Bohemian, Leo von Rozmital, in 1466.[1] Since the suppression of the "rationalist" Bishop Pecocke, in 1457, no question of any importance had stirred the sluggish intellectual atmosphere of the Church in England except the "Mendicavit" controversy mentioned above. As a concession to the Church, Edward allowed the burning of one or two Lollards who sturdily professed their faith to the end. There is no doubt that he did not wish for men of spiritual enthusiasm. Cardinal Bouchier was a fairly respectable

Edward and the Church.

[1] See *The Athenæum* for November 16th, 1844.

politician and Archbishop Neville a disreputable one: Archbishop Rotherham and Bishops Stillington, Russell and Booth were politicians and administrators first and priests afterwards. Rotherham was a good equity lawyer: Booth and Stillington, men of low origin, owed their advancement entirely to the King and their own abilities.

The subservience of the Church meant the limitation of the power of the Papacy. Though King Edward, as we have seen, had in 1462, for reasons of secular policy, allowed to the Church again a position exempting the clergy from the jurisdiction in criminal affairs of the Royal courts, he seems to have been careful not to allow encroachments of the Papacy that would diminish his authority or the claims that his ancestors had made good. When in 1464 Pope Pius II asked the assistance of all Christian princes for a Crusade against the Turks, and sent bulls to England demanding a tenth from the English Church, the King took alarm and wrote to the Convocations "dreading the peril and inconvenience that might follow by the example of such imposition hereafter, whereof the like hath not often time been put in use, in the days of our noble progenitors, right loath to suffer such novelty to take effect in our days."[1] In answer to his protests the Pope agreed to forego the levy of the tenth, and to accept instead a grant from the clergy. The King arranged that this grant should be made to him, and he would pay it to the Pope. He asked a substantial sum, 6d. in the pound, "to prevent the execution of the said Bulls," and Convocation agreed to his proposals. On other occasions he induced the Papacy to forego various formalities that it had been

[1] Wilkins, "Concilia," pp. 594-8.

accustomed to demand in the case of certain appointments.[1] He protested with success against an attempt of Sixtus IV to influence the knights of St. John in England in favour of a nominee of his for the Priory —seasoning this rebuff with a request for apostolic letters "by whose authority proceedings may be instituted against erroneous books"—especially the writings of Reginald Pecocke which, according to his account, had spread widely.[2] He was always ready at need to ask for the spiritual offices of the Head of the Church for the condemnation and pacification of his enemies.

A few records of alms, including a gift of 10s. to Wells Cathedral[3] and a chasuble to that of Lichfield[4] —these and the frequent accounts of his attendance at Mass, and his pilgrimages, are the evidence we possess of his religious observances. Any word of religious opinion or spiritual aspiration, except those attributed to him in 1470 and '71 in the hour of his defeat and peril, is lacking.

Edward's private life. Jane Shore.

The personal character of the King had not improved with the removal of the restraint which the necessity for active exertion against his enemies imposed upon him. He became as time went on more and more suspicious, less swayed by natural and creditable affections. If this changed character contributed to a stricter and more regular method of government it did not induce him to alter his mode of life, which seems to have been scandalous. Self-indulgent in the pleasures of the table, he was yet

[1] "Venetian Papers," pp. 451 and 465; Reports of the Roy. Comm. on Hist. Doc., iv, p. 171.
[2] "Venetian Papers," pp. 451 and 483.
[3] Report Roy. Comm. on Hist. Doc., x, p. 284.
[4] Sacrists' Roll, Lichfield Cath. "Journal Derbyshire Archæol. Soc.," p. 123.

more notorious for his open infidelity to his wife. Of the many mistresses whom he is reported to have entertained, the name of one only—unless the Elizabeth Lucy mentioned above was one—has survived. That they were of no political importance is certain. Jane Shore is the exception. A doubtful authority records that she was the daughter of a certain Thomas Wainstead, a mercer of Cheapside, and was married in early life, without love, to a goldsmith of Lombard Street, named Matthew Shore.[1] At what point in his reign Edward induced her to quit her husband we do not know: but it seems probable that their connection extended over some years. She was by universal report of a never-failing wit and good-humour, and her influence over the King was exerted in the direction of gentleness, mercy and forgiveness. Tradition ascribes to her one act of great consequence. The King was meditating appropriating the revenues of Henry VI's foundation at Eton, and it is said she exerted herself to induce him to forego his intention. By the Londoners she was regarded with something of the kindly feelings which they afterwards entertained for a successor to the same anomalous position, Nell Gwynne. Sir Thomas More's description gives a vivid idea of her person and character.[2] "Proper she was and faire; nothing in her body that you wold have changed, but if you wold have wished her somewhat higher. Thus say thei that knew her in her youthe." "Yet delited not men so much in her bewty as in her pleasant behaviour. For a proper wit had she, and could both rede wel and write,

[1] "Life and Character of Jane Shore." (Rowe.) London, 1714.

[2] More's "Life of Richard III," p. 54-5.

merry in company, redey and quick of annswer, neither mute nor full of bable, sometime taunting without displeasure and not without disport. In whom the King therefore took speciall pleasure. Whose favour, to sai the trouth, she never abused to any man's hurt, but to many a man's comfort and relief: where the King toke displeasure she would mitigate and appease his mind: where men were out of favour, she would bring them in his grace. . . . . In many weighty sutes, she stode many men in gret stede, either for none, or very smal rewardes, and those rather gay than rich."

Such behaviour was in marked contrast with that of the greedy Queen. It is a fact that Edward lost little of his popularity by his indulgence of this vicious side of his character. It is unfortunately true that, England has often failed to love her virtuous Kings and given its loyalty freely to the sinners. Henry III, Edward I, Richard II, Charles I never won the popularity of the fourth Edward. His predecessor, it is true, was virtuous and beloved: but it was the love of compassion, not of admiration.

Edward and alchemy.

To come to another side of the King's complex character—we have already noticed the large payments made to apothecaries very early in the reign. Prescriptions for medicines for him, including a pomander against the plague, are still to be seen.[1] That he took some interest in chemistry, or rather the prevailing delusion of alchemy, of which science there had been a revival in the reign of Henry VI, is shown by various treatises prepared for him by its professors.[2] He grants licenses to practice it; two merchants are

[1] Sloane MS., 1072, f. 22. 403, f. 338-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, 3753, f. 118.

granted permission to make gold and silver from mercury.[1] He is interested in an attempt to find the elusive philosopher's stone, and a scheme to "multiply silver." But his own health seems to have begun to trouble him after 1475. He grew lethargic, lost his buoyancy of spirits and showed all the symptoms of excessive self-indulgence. One alchemist writes, dwelling on the King's virtues and promising an elixir which can renovate the body; "me seemeth ruth it were but that you should live long," he says.[2] The composition of the elixir is not disclosed.

His health.

Like most of the popular Kings of England, Edward was a keen sportsman;

Edward as a sportsman.

> In summer time when leaves grow green,
> And birds were singing on the tree,
> King Edward would a hunting ride
> Some pastime for to see.
> Our King he would a hunting ride
> By eight o'clock of the day.[3]

We find him sending for "shooting tackle" for himself[4]—ordering the preservation of the game at Teddesley Hay, "intending by God's grace to take pleasure."[5] His hunting expeditions appear to have been on a scale of great luxury, and he was even, on such occasions, accompanied by ladies and courtiers with whom he feasted after the toils of the day.[6] He loved jousts and feats of arms and presided over

[1] Rymer, xii, June 18th, '76.
[2] Sloane MS. 3667, f. 29. See "Social England," (1903), Vol. II, pp. 519-21.
[3] King Edward IV and the Miller of Tamworth.
[4] "Excerpta Historica," p. 11.
[5] Roy. Comm. on Hist. Docs., v, April 27th, 1482.
[6] Commines (Bohn), i, p. 192.

notable tournaments.[1] The possession of "bears and a dromedary" by the Duke of Clarence, a marmoset and three lions by the King,[2] would suggest the beginning of the Royal zoological collection at the Tower.

Reorganisation of the Royal Household.

In September, 1474, the King reorganised his household, issuing a complete estimate of its composition and expenses.[3] In the Exordium, which tells us that the King, by advice of his Lords temporal and spiritual, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and wise and discreet judges and others had formed "these instructions so that the King should have his goods and provisions duly expended, but not wasted," reference is made to the wisdom of Solomon in putting his establishment under definite rules; King Lud is praised for his hospitality; "Cassibelan, the father nourisher of familiarity," who at one festival killed 40,000 kyne and oxen, 100,000 sheep, 30,000 deer, is said to have introduced great diversity of food. But Edward III's was "the house of very policy and flower of England, the finest setter of certainty among his domestics upon a grounded rule." In the most elaborate document that follows the charge for the Royal Establishment is given at £13,000 a year, which is distributed under the various headings of diet for general use and festivals, rewards, fees, alms, amusements, the Royal stables, lighting and firing, all with great minuteness of detail. The

[1] On one occasion some Knights arrived from Hungary with letters from their Queen "to show how fain they would do things to your noble pleasure."—Harleian MS. 69, f. 104, Brit. Mus.

[2] Roy. Comm. on Hist. Doc., v, p. 524, and Devon, "Issues," Easter, 22 Ed. IV.—York Records, p. 13.

[3] "Collection of Ordinances for . . . the Royal Household," 1790.

officers of the King's Chamber are enumerated—a Chamberlain, Confessor, Knights, Chaplains, Squires of the Body, a Physician (whose duty it was to stand "much in the King's presence at his meals, councellyng or answering to the King's grace which diet is best according, and to tell the nature and operation of all the metes"—a difficult task in the case of a *bon vivant* like Edward), Gentlemen Ushers, Yeomen of the Robes, of the Beds, of the Crown ("to keep his bows, his dogs and his books") and of the Chamber, Grooms and Waiters. The functions, allowances and perquisites of the countless officials of the Court and the household are all recounted, including those of the Royal Barber, whose presence was required "every Saturday night, if it pleased the King to cleanse his hedde, legges, or feet"; and of the "children of the Chapel" who, when their voices break, at eighteen years of age, "may be sent to Oxford or Cambridge, to a college of the King's foundation, to be there till the King list to advance them otherwise." The Queen's allowance in Court is 40s. per diem for "diet" for herself and 12d. per diem each for 100 attendants.

Model "households" are given, from a Duke's, which, with allowances for 240 attendants, cost £4,000, descending through the various degrees of the peerage to that of a squire, with six attendants, costing £50. The great officers of the kingdom, such as the Chancellor, the Chief Justice of Common Pleas, and the Great Chamberlain have "livery" of wine and ale and lighting at the Court.

The work in the composition of this document must have been considerable. Every department of the household is dealt with from the offices of the

Steward down to the laundry. Special sums are set aside for "red, white and sweet wines for the receipt of ambassadors or others coming to court." A sum of £200 is allowed for the celebration of the feast of St. George, and smaller sums for the five great festivals. The offerings—6s. 8d. at Christmas, Easter, Whitsun and All Hallows, a daily offering to the Dean of the Chapel—to the Cross on Good Friday—three florins of gold every year at the Shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury,—all are remembered, entered and totalled.

It had been a complaint that the household of Henry VI was over large and disorderly: certainly no great magnificence resulted from the very large expenditure on the Court in his reign. If the household was now organised and ruled according to the scheme of this document, if the expenses were in accordance with the expenditure in each department for which it made allowance, the Court must have become orderly and magnificent.

Edward's taste for art.

Sums of £397 and £984 8s. 8d. were spent in 1468 on various furniture and adornment for the Royal Palaces. We may notice "two basins with entwined roses," "two basins with the arms of Salisbury" for the King's private use in his own chamber. Also "four pieces of arras" representing "the history of Nabuqodonoser"—other pieces depicting the stories of Alexander, the Passion, the Judgment, "fifteen pieces of valence for the green bed," "two dozen of green curtains."[1] We find, too, payments for a "gold ring with a diamond, sent by the King to the Duke of Burgundy in the name of his sister Margaret"; "for the impression of a precious stone," and heavy

[1] Devon, "Issues," p. 490.

expenses incurred for the Royal wardrobe. Thus it appears that Edward combined with a love of rule and order a cultivated taste for objects of art.

The Court in 1466.

From the account of the visit to the English Court, in 1466, of Leo von Rozmital, a brother-in-law of the King of Bohemia, we gather that Court etiquette was severely dignified. The visitors noted "the very great reverence" paid to the King. "Great noblemen have to kneel before him." At a "feast" to which the Bohemian was invited "one of the King's greatest lords sat upon the King's stool in the place of the King; then all the honours which were done to the King had to be paid to him . . . it is incredible what ceremonies we observed there. While we were eating, the King was making presents to all the trumpeters, pipers, players, and heralds; to the last alone he gave four hundred nobles, and everyone when he received his pay, came to the tables and told about what the King had given him." Leo was invited to see the Queen, who had that morning been "from child-bed to church," at her dinner. "She sat on a golden stool alone at her table, and her mother and the King's sister stood far below her. And when the Queen spoke to her mother or to the King's sister, they kneeled down every time before her, and remained kneeling until the Queen drank water. And all her ladies and maids, and those who waited upon her, even great lords, had to kneel while she was eating, which continued three hours. After dinner there was dancing . . . the King's sister danced with two Dukes, and the beautiful dances and reverences performed before the Queen, the like I have never seen. After the dance the King's singing men came in and sang. Then the King took his visitor to hear

mass in his private chapel, and had 'his relics and many sacred things in London' shown to him."[1] From these evidences and those supplied by the description of the visit of Louis de Bruges to Windsor,[2] it can be seen that, if there was brutality and sensuality, there was also refinement and dignity in Edward's Court.

Edward and music.

The King's Minstrels were in April, 1469, licensed to form a Guild of Music under the presidency of Walter Haliday.[3] Wherever the King went he seems to have been accompanied by his minstrels.[4] From the number of entries in the Patent Rolls, appointing and paying musicians, we gather that the King really loved music. Among others is a grant to Robert Bunnok for "good service in the instruction of boys in the art of music to sing in the Chapel." His mother, the Queen, the Prince of Wales and the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester seem also each to have had a minstrel company in attendance at their homes and in their travels.[5]

The Royal Family.

The King and Queen were a good deal apart after 1471—but in the autumn of 1472 we find them together visiting Oxford, in company with the Duchesses of Bedford and Suffolk. They were received with a torchlight procession, and King Edward, after inspecting the new buildings at Magdalen, made a speech in which he spoke of his affection for and pride in Oxford, in proof of which he had sent

[1] From *The Athenæum*, November 16th, 1844.
[2] See Appendix at the end of this Chapter.
[3] Rymer, xi, April 24th, 1469.
[4] See Roy. Comm. on Hist. Docs., v, MSS. of Rye, Lydd and old Romney—constant entries for payment of minstrels of the Royal family; also Davies, York Records.
[5] *Ibid.*

his nephews, the de la Poles, sons of the Duchess of Suffolk, to be undergraduates of the University.[1]

The Royal family had been increased by the birth, at Windsor, of a princess, Margaret, on April 10th, 1472, who died the same year: a prince, Richard "of Shrewsbury," born probably in June, 1473. Another daughter, Anne, was born on November 2nd, 1475; another son, George, in August, 1478—but he died in March, 1479. Two more daughters, Catherine, born at Eltham at the end of 1479, and Bridget, born November 10th, 1480, complete the tale of the issue of the Royal couple. The elder children were nursed at Sheen: but after 1471 the Court seems to have been much at Eltham and Windsor, besides visits to Fotheringay and other places. The Queen, too, as we shall see, spent some time in her later years at Ludlow.

The Princesses.

The Lady Elizabeth, until the birth of her brother Edward, was treated by the King with great pomp and dignity as if heir to the throne. The manor of Great Lynford, in Bucks, was granted to her for life, and an annuity of £400 in October '68, was placed at the disposal of the Queen on her behalf and that of the next daughter, Mary.[2] Both were taught French and Spanish, and "scriveners," "the very best in the City," were employed to teach them to write.[3] We noticed above the project of Elizabeth's marriage to George, son of John Neville, the doubtful negotiations with Queen Margaret offering her as a bride for her son Edward; finally her betrothal to the Dauphin, a source of great pride to her parents

[1] See Strickland, Vol. II, p. 349.
[2] Rymer, xi, Oct. 9th, 1468.
[3] Strickland, Vol. II, p. 396.

who spoke of her as "the Lady Dauphiness" from the time of the conclusion of the Treaty. Yet other matrimonial projects for her were to be entertained, and finally a marriage which has continued the blood of Edward IV on the throne of England to this day. The Lady Mary, up to 1480, figured merely as second candidate, in the event of her elder sister's demise, for the hand of the Dauphin. Cecily, the third daughter, was, as we have seen, betrothed to the heir of Scotland in 1474, an occasion marked by the King as of historic importance. "Time, the enemy of the human race," he says, replying to the overtures of James of Scotland, "is not permitted so great power in causing perilous dissensions, but that the benignity of the Omnipotent can and will at his great pleasure, infuse on the other hand, the grace of concord and unity"[1]—a fact which he illustrates by the marriage treaty which was to bind in friendship the two ancient enemies, England and Scotland.

The Prince of Wales.

But it was for the young Prince of Wales, born in his father's darkest hour, that the King retained a special fondness. Indeed, wherever we see Edward with his children, we see him on his best side, giving full play to natural and creditable affection. The narrative of the visit of Louis de Bruges gives a pleasant picture of him in his family life.[2] We have seen how, in 1471, the King presented his heir to his nobles and asked for their oath of fidelity to him. Honours and estates were showered on the young Prince, who at a very early age was given a place in the ceremonials

[1] See Green: "Lives of the Princesses of England," iii, p. 404.

[2] See Appendix to this Chapter.

and festivals of the Court. Edward delighted, like a modern Sovereign who makes his baby sons colonels in his army, to dignify his son's estate, to allow him betimes the means and opportunity of realising his position. In 1473 the King decided to allow him a separate household. Writing to Thomas Rotherham, Bishop of Rochester, he says: "Howbeit every child in his young age ought to be brought up in virtue and cunning to the intent that he might delight therein and continue in the same; yet natheless such persones as God hath called to the preeminent estate of Prince and to succeed their Progenitours in the State of Royalty ought more singularly and more diligently to be informed and instructed in cunning and virtue: we therefore entirely desiring our derest son the Prince perfectly, cunningly, and virtuously to be guided and conducted in his young age, whom it hath pleased God to give unto us, whole and furnished in nature, for the which we must humbly thank his bounteous magnificence" . . . "purpose by his Grace so to purvey for"—"our most desired treasure our said first begotten son that he shall be so . . . brought up to serve Almighty God Christianly."[1] The Lord Rivers was appointed as his Governor and Ruler, and a set of rules formed for the ordering of his household which are a model of what such should be.[2] Every care is taken for the physical and moral well-being of the boy. Rising every day "at a convenient hour, according to his age," he is to hear matins in his chamber, followed by mass in the Chapel, "and in nowise in his chamber

[1] MS., Lansdowne, 511, f. 93 and 102.
[2] J. O. Halliwell-Phillips: "Letters of the King of England," pp. 136-144.

without a cause reasonable." After breakfast he is " to be occupied in such virtuous learning as his age shall suffer to receive." At meat he is to hear " such noble stories as behoveth to a prince to understand and know: and that the communication at all times in his presence be of virtue, honour, cunning, wisdom, and of deeds of worship, and of nothing that should move or stir him to vice." Dinner is to be followed by convenient disports and exercises " until evensong. Then comes supper, and after further honest disports," bed. His attendants are to " enforce themselves to make him merry and joyous towards his bed." His " traverse " is to be drawn " anon upon eight of the clock." Companions of his own age are to be given to him, " sons of noble lords and gentlemen," who are to be virtuously brought up and taught in grammar, music or other training exercises of humanity . . and in no wise to be suffered in idleness, or in unvirtuous occupation. **Ordinances for his household.**

Elaborate rules are appended for the safeguarding of the Prince's person, the ordering of his domestics, the financial arrangements of his household; none of his purveyors shall " take of other's stuff without due contentation for the same."

In April, 1475, the Prince was made a knight along with the heirs of many of the nobles—" and the King did honour to all the company with his own noble counsell and hands."[1]

In 1478 he was sent, under the care of Lord Rivers, the First Lord President of the Council of the Marches, to reside and keep his estate in the castle at Ludlow. The Welsh were showing themselves unruly and turbulent, and it was thought that the presence of the Prince

[1] Addit. MS. 6113, f. 107b.

who had been appointed Justiciar of Wales in 1476,[1] and in 1477 had received large grants of land in the neighbourhood, would conduce to their pacification.

Richard, Duke of York.

The King's second son Richard, was on May 28th, 1474, created Duke of York. In 1477 a marriage was arranged for him, the bride being Lady Anne Mowbray, the only child of the last Mowbray Duke of Norfolk. She was only six years old, and in order to secure her estates to Richard a Parliamentary settlement of them was made for the term of his life, in case the marriage should never be completed. The Dowager Duchess of Norfolk and other co-heirs, including the Lord Berkeley, who received a Viscountcy for his complaisance,[2] were induced to forego their claims on the Norfolk estates. On January 15th, 1478, the public Betrothal "to the honouring of which the King dictated his letters to divers nobles of his realm to come and appear at his palace of Westminster" took place;[3] the occasion was honoured by the knighthood conferred on many of the young nobility, and very extensive and elaborate jousts and tournaments were performed. The bride was conducted to St. Stephen's Chapel between the Earl of Lincoln and Lord Rivers. The King and Queen, the Duchess of York, the Prince, and the Ladies Elizabeth, Mary and Cecily, were all present, and the betrothal was celebrated with great ceremony, being followed by a stately feast.[4]

The young Duke of York and Norfolk, Earl of Warenne and Nottingham, for whom the future

[1] See Dict. Nat. Biography.
[2] Harleian MS. 169, f. 43b.
[3] Addit. MS. 6113, f. 72b.
[4] Sandford, "Genealogical Lives of the Kings of England," p. 416.

held such a sad fate, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1479—with power to appoint a deputy—succeeding in that office his younger brother George, who had been, in 1478, created Duke of Bedford, and had died in 1479.

The King's policy as regards his family and court.

In all these arrangements for the honour and enrichment of his children—some of more than questionable morality—we see not only the affection of a fond father, but evidence of a deliberate policy by which the King strove to strengthen and dignify the Crown and the Royal family. The respect and affection of his subjects alone could guarantee the establishment of his dynasty: and none knew better the effect of a splendid show, pageantry, open-handedness, combined with an easy geniality of demeanour to the humbler of his subjects.

Consistent with this policy, and in keeping with his strong family affections was his reburial of the remains of his father and his brother Edmund, Earl of Rutland, in July, 1476. They had been interred at Pontefract after the battle of Towton: now the King decided to give them a fitter resting-place. The coffins, "covered with black velvet, richly wrapped in cloth of gold and Royal Habit, at whose feet there stood a white angel, bearing a crown of gold to signify that of right" the Duke of York "was King," were brought in solemn procession from Pontefract, by Doncaster, Newark and Stamford to Fotheringay, where the King met them. The next day, July 30, with the Queen and the Ladies Elizabeth and Mary, he attended the Mass of Requiem, when the service was carried out with all honours due to a king.[1]

Of Edward's brothers, Richard of Gloucester now

[1] Sandford.

The King's brothers.

spent much time in the North at Sheriff Hutton and Middleham. He had shown in the French invasion an independence of judgment and spirit which gained him considerable popularity. He had been liberally rewarded for his services by grants of land and office. But his estate was not so fine as that of George of Clarence who, in spite of the King's favours, "seemed gradually more and more to estrange himself from the King's presence, hardly ever to utter a word in council, and not without reluctance to eat and drink in the King's abode."[1] The causes of this unfriendly demeanour are to be found in various circumstances, among which was his loss of the manor and Castle of Tutbury, by resumption to the Crown; but principally in events of foreign policy to which we must now turn.

THE ENTERTAINMENT OF LOUIS DE BRUGES, SEIGNEUR DE LA GRUTHUYSE, AT WINDSOR CASTLE BY KING EDWARD IV, OCTOBER, 1472.

(Additional MS., 6113, f. 103 b, Brit. Mus. "Archæologia," Vol. XXVI, p. 276.)

"And when he com into the castell, into the quadrante, my lord Hastinges, chamberlein to the Kinge; . . . receiued hym to the Kinge. Md. that the Kinge dyd to be imparrailled on the fur syde of the quadrant, iij chambres richely hanged wt clothes of Arras, and wt Beddes of astate, and when he had spoken wt the Kinges grace, and the quene, he was accompannyed to his chambre by the lorde Chamberlein, [and] Sir John Parre, wt diuers moo, whiche supped wt hym in his chambre; . . . When they had supte, my lord chamberlein had hym againe to the Kinges chamber. Then incontinent the Kinge had hym to the quenes chamber, where she had there her ladyes playinge at the morteaulx, and sum

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 477.

of her ladyes and gentlewomen at the Closheys of yuery, and Daunsinge. And sum at diuers other games, accordinge. The whiche sight was full plesaunte to them. Also the Kinge daunsed wt my lady Elizabethe, his elste (*sic*) doughter. That done, the night passed ouer, they wente to his chamber. . . . . And in the morninge, when Matyns was don, the Kinge herde in his owne chappell our ladye masse, whiche was melodyousely songe, the lorde Grautehuse beinge there presente. When the masse was doon, the Kinge gaue the sayde lorde Grautehuse a Cuppe of Golde, garnished wt Perle. In the myddes of the Cuppe ys a greate Pece of an Vnicornes horne, to my estimacyon, vij ynches compas. And on the couer was a great saffre. Then he wente to his chambre, where he had his brekefaste. My lorde Prince also, borne by his Chamberlayn, called Mayster Vaghan, whiche bad the foresayde lorde Grautehuse welcom. Then the Kinge had hym and all his Compeny into the lyttle Parke, where he made hym to haue greate Sporte. And there the Kinge made hym ryde on his owen horse, on a right feyre hoby, the whiche the Kinge gaue hym. Itm, there in the Parke, the Kinge gaue hym a royall Crosbowe, the strynge of Silke, the case couered wt velvette of the Kinge colours, and his Armes and Bagges thereapon. Also the heddes of quarrelles were gilte. The Kinges dynner was ordeined in the lodge, whiche (sic) before dynner they kylled no game, savinge a doo; the whiche the Kinge gaue to the Servũntes of the foresayde lorde Grauthuse. And when the Kinge had dyned, they wente an huntinge againe. And by the Castell were founden certain dere lyinge; som wt greyhoundes, and som renne to deathe wt Bucke houndes. There were slaine halfe a doussein Buckes, the whiche the Kinge gaue to the sayde Lorde Grautehuse. By that tyme yt was nere night, yett the Kinge shewed hym his garden, and Vineyard of Pleasour, and so turned into the Castell agayne, where they herde euensonge in theire chambres. The Quene dyd to be ordeined a greate Bankette in her owne chambre. At the whiche Bankette were the Kinge, the Quene, my lady Elizabethe, the Kinges eldest doughter, the Duchess of Exeter, the lady Ryuers, [and] the Lorde Grautehuse, settinge at oone messe, and at the same table satte the Duke of Buckinghem̃, My lady his wyfe, wt diuers other Ladyes, My lorde Hastinges, chamberlein to the Kinge, My lorde Barnes, chamberlein to the quene, [the] Sonne of the foresayde Lord Grauthuse, ... also certeyn nobles of the Kinges owen courte. Itm̃, there was a syde table, at the whiche satte a greate Vue of ladyes, all on the oon syde. Also in the vtter chambre satte the quenes gentlewomen, all

on oone syde. And on the tother syde of the table, ouer againeste them, as many of the lorde Grauthuse Servūntes, as touchinge to the abondant welfare, lyke as yt ys accordinge to suche a Bankett. And when they had soupped, my lady Elizabeth, the Kinges eldest doughter, daunsed wt the Duke of Buckingehm, and diuers other ladyes also. Then, aboute IX of the clocke, the Kinge and the quene, wt her ladies and gentlewomen, brought the sayde Lorde Grautehuse to iij chaumbres of Pleasance, all hanged wt whyte Sylke and lynnen clothe, and all the floures couered wt carpettes. There was ordeined a Bedde for hym selue, of as good doune as coulde be gotten, the Shetes of Raynys, also fyne Fustyans; the Counterpoynte clothe of golde, furred wt armyn, the Tester and the Celer also shyninge clothe of golde, the Curteyns of whyte Sarsenette; as for his hedde Sute and Pillowes [they] were of the quenes owen Ordonnance. Itm̄, [in] the ij^{de} chambre was a other of astate, the whiche was alle whyte. Also in the same chambre was made a Couche wt Fether beddes, hanged wt a Tente, knytt lyke a nette, and there was a Cuppborde. Itm̄, in the iij^{de} chambre was ordeined a Bayne or ij, whiche were couered wt Tentes of white clothe. And when the Kinge and the quene, wt all her ladyes and gentlewemen had shewed hym these chambres, they turned againe to theire owen chambres, and lefte the sayde lorde Grauthuse there, accompanied wt my lorde chamberlein, whiche dispoyled hym, and wente bothe to gether to the Bayne. Also there was Sir John A. Parre, John Grauthuse, son to the foresayde lorde. . . . And when they had ben in theire Baynes as longe as there Pleasour, they had grene gynger, diuers Cyryppes, Comfyttes, and Ipocras, and then they wente to bedde. And on the Morne he toke his Cuppe of the Kinge and the quene, and turned to Westmynstre againe, accompenied wt certein knighte, esquiers, and oder the Kinges Servuntes, home to his Lodgenge. . . ."

CHAPTER XIV

EDWARD AND CLARENCE—FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Edward tries to get possession of the person of Henry Tudor.

When, after his return from France, the King surveyed the future, he saw in it only one source of possible danger—the fact that Henry Tudor, the heir of the Lancastrians, was alive and in a foreign land. This one cloud in the sky appeared the larger for its solitude,[1] and he determined to make one more effort to induce the Duke of Brittany to deliver him to his care. Accordingly he sent an embassy, well supplied with money and presents, who, by dwelling on his faithfulness to the Duke, succeeded in obtaining possession of the person of the young Earl of Richmond. But the captive fell ill at St. Malo, and by the connivance of the Duke of Brittany, who is said to have yielded to the persuasions of a faithful servant representing the dishonour he did to his fame in delivering to his enemy one who had come to him for refuge, was conveyed secretly to sanctuary.[2] The embassy therefore returned empty handed to King Edward, but Duke Francis, knowing his own interest, promised that King Henry should be safely guarded, and renewed his treaties with England. These promises he faithfully observed.

Meanwhile the Duke of Burgundy was proceeding to his ruin. In the prosecution of his schemes in Lorraine and Alsace, he encountered the ever growing and determined hostility of the Swiss, artfully

[1] See Habington, p. 111.
[2] Polydore Vergil, p. 164; Rymer, xii, pp. 22-3.

fomented by the King of France.[1] In 1476 he was severely defeated at Granson, on the borders of Lake Neufchâtel and again at Morat. Later in the year, surrounded by enemies on every side, he marched against Réné II, Duke of Lorraine, and besieged him in his capital of Nancy. On January 5th, 1477, a battle was fought outside the walls of the town, in which his forces were hopelessly worsted, and he himself slain. His death created an entirely new situation. He left no son, only a daughter, Mary, by his first wife. The King of France, announcing that they were male fiefs, at once proceeded to occupy and declare annexed to the Crown the Duchy and County of Burgundy, Lorraine, Franche-Comté, Artois and Picardy. It was clear to the widowed Duchess of Burgundy that a marriage with some foreign prince who could bring power and ability to the succour of his bride, was the only thing that could save for the heiress, Mary of Burgundy, any but a shadow of her father's possessions. She therefore welcomed the proposal of himself as a husband for her step-daughter, of her favourite brother, George, Duke of Clarence, whose wife had died in December, 1476.[2]

Defeat and death of Charles of Burgundy, Jan. 5th, 1477.

About the same time King James of Scotland had brought before King Edward proposals that the Duke of Clarence should marry his sister Margaret, while his brother, the Duke of Albany, should espouse the Duchess Margaret of Burgundy. The key to the various problems presented to King Edward lay in the fact that he was determined to maintain, if possible, the friendly and profitable relations with France which obtained under the treaty of 1475. But if he

Proposals of James III.

[1] See Kirk, "Life of Charles the Bold," iii.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 478.

allowed his brother, already deeply suspected and troublesome, to marry the heiress of Burgundy, endless complications lay before him. He would find himself dragged into a war at great expense, entailing, moreover, the loss of his pension from Louis; for Clarence is said to have intended to interest himself actively in his sister's cause.

The proposals of the Scottish King were almost equally unacceptable. But for the moment Edward temporised, writing to thank King James for his proposals "forasmuch as this desire proceedeth of his entire love and affection anempst us, as heartily as we can: and forasmuch also as after the old usage of this our realm, no estate nor person honourable communeth of marriage within the year of their doole (mourning) we therefore cannot as yet conveniently speak in this matter." Later "we shall feel their dispositions" and inform you.[1] It is probable that he suspected behind these proposals an intrigue of the Duke of Clarence.

The Duke of Clarence.

The offences of Clarence had been such as "could be forgiven but not forgotten."[2] The Queen had lost her father and her brother in the Rebellion of 1469, when Clarence made his first essay in treason: this fact neither she nor her relatives could ever forget. From the moment of his appearance in public life he had been the bitter enemy of the Queen's faction, and as he was entirely indiscreet and a busybody, doubtless his enmity was public property and a constant source of annoyance to them. There had followed his renewed treason in 1470, his double treachery in 1471. Since that date he had pursued

[1] Halliwell, iv, p. 147.
[2] Ramsay, ii, p. 419.

a career of busy self-aggrandisement and appears not to have been in the slightest degree abashed by the remembrance of his past. His long quarrel with his brother Richard over the Neville estates, his differences with the King, have been noticed: all contributed to keep open old wounds, and to make it impossible for Edward to feel any confidence in him. The refusal of the King to allow his marriage with Mary of Burgundy seems to have roused Clarence to fury, especially as the Queen put forward as a candidate in his place her own brother, Earl Rivers, to whom Edward had, in that capacity, the same political objections as he had to him.

His lawlessness.

The death of the Duchess of Clarence seems to have unhinged the mind of her husband. His behaviour became outrageous. Without legal writ or warrant he procured the arrest at her home at Cayford, in Somerset, of a widow lady, Ankerett Twynhow, who had been one of the attendants of the Duchess of Clarence. She was brought at once to Warwick, where the Duke accused her of administering to her late mistress some poisoned ale on October 10th, 1476, "whereof she died Sunday next before Christmas."[1] The Duchess had, as a matter of fact, died rather suddenly, after giving birth to a child, on December 21st. A certain John Thuresby was accused of administering poisoned ale to the child, Richard, "whereof he died on January 1st." Owing to the personal interest and interference of Clarence both were found guilty and at once executed. News of the affair had reached London, and a writ was sent

[1] "Rot. Parl.," vi, p. 173. Report of the Deputy Keeper of Public Records, Vol. III, Appendix ii, pp. 213-4, for this and the following trials.

to Warwick to remove the trial to London, but when it arrived it was too late. This was just the kind of insolent illegality which was most offensive to the King. The forms of justice had, from the beginning of his reign, been his care: again and again he had advised, proclaimed, ordered that men should show their grievances, settle their disputes, by the ordinary course of legal procedure. This sudden invasion of the Royal rights recalled all the worst features of the times that Edward hoped to bring to an end. It was absolutely exasperating. Nevertheless, instead of openly proceeding against his brother, the King endeavoured to convey an unmistakable warning to him[1] by arresting and placing on trial for "constructive treason" and sorcery, Thomas Burdett of Arrow, a friend of Clarence's, John Stacey, his household chaplain, and one Thomas Blake, of Oxford, a clerk in holy orders. They were accused of "treasonably imagining and compassing the death of the King." Burdett and Stacey, on November 12th, 1474, had tried to calculate the "nativities of the King and Prince Edward, and when they should die." The charge went on to say that on February 6th, '75, Stacey and Blake "worked and calculated by art, magic, necromancy and astronomy the death and final destruction of King and Prince." On May 26th following they had talked openly at Westminster of the result of their calculations, saying the King and his heir would not live long "to the intent that by the revealing and making known these matters the evident love of the people might be withdrawn from the King: and the King by knowledge of the same would be saddened thereby, so that his life would be

The trial of Burdett and Stacey.

[1] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 461.

thereby shortened." In March and May of 1477 Burdett was said to have disseminated seditious bills and ballads containing arguments " to withdraw the people's minds from the King and to make them rise and make war against him."

On May 19th, 1477, a Petty Jury found the prisoners guilty. Burdett and Stacey were thereupon executed, but Blake received a pardon.

This story seems to suggest that Clarence was working on the King's well-known superstition and belief in necromancy, and that Edward had reached a pitch of nervousness that made the offence a real one to him. There is a tale that the King, hunting at Arrow, had killed a favourite white buck of Burdett's, and some indiscreet expressions of annoyance which the owner let fall were reported and exaggerated. The ballads and rhymes published by Burdett in 1477 may have been referring to the prophecy, which belongs to this time,[1] that Edward would be succeeded by one whose name began with G. But, on the whole, there seems reason to believe that Edward forced a case against the men as a warning to Clarence.

Enraged at this treatment of his friends, the Duke at once appeared in London, and entered the Council Chamber at Westminster to protest against it, bringing with him Dr. William Goddard, who read the dying declarations of innocence of Burdett and Stacey.[2] Goddard, the man who had preached the restoration of Henry VI while Edward was yet in England in September, 1470, was a peculiarly unfortunate choice for Clarence's purpose. Edward was

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 421.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 479.

at Windsor when news reached him of his brother's open indictment of the Royal justice. At once he hurried to London, and summoned him to appear on a certain day at Westminster: "upon which, in presence of the Mayor and Aldermen of the City of London, the King began with his own lips to inveigh against the conduct of the Duke as being derogatory to the laws of the realm, and most dangerous to judges and jurors." Clarence was at once sent to the Tower, which he was never again to leave as a free man.

Edward determines to get rid of Clarence.

The King now made up his mind to get rid of him. Mischief-makers no doubt did their work: but Edward had been roused by repeated acts of selfishness and insubordination to the ruthless decision which characterised him when once his natural easiness and affectionateness of disposition were overcome.

He is said to have consulted his ally, King Louis of France, who replied by the sinister advice, "Tolle moras, saepe nocuit differre paratum."[1]

What finally hardened Edward to his purpose seems to have been the suspicion, possibly ill-grounded, that Clarence was meditating some treason, under cover of the act of Henry VI in 1470, not yet repealed, by which he was declared heir to the throne after that King and his son Edward. Clarence was reported, though without proof, to have "obtained an exemplification of this act and shown it to his confidants."

The King decided to proceed by attainder in Parliament, which was summoned for the purpose and met on January 16th, 1478. After a sermon by the Chancellor on the text, "He beareth not the sword

[1] Sismondi, xiv, p. 555.

in vain"—giving instances of punishment for disobedience, the Bill of Attainder was produced.[1]

Clarence is attainted, Jan., 1478.

It began by saying that the King had suppressed "by chivalry and war" many conspiracies, "yet as a benign and gracious prince, moved unto pity, after his great victories sent him by God, not only hath he spared the multitudes in their fields and assemblies overcome, but them and certain other, the great movers and stirrers and executors of such heinous Treasons" he had freely pardoned. Now he finds a "much higher, much more malicious, more unnatural and loathly treason" than any that had gone before, the more loathly as having been "contrived, imagined, conspired by the person that of all earthly creatures, besides the duty of allegiance, by nature, by benefits, by gratitude, and by gifts and grants of goods and possessions hath been most bounden and beholden to have dreaded, loved, honoured and even thanked the King" "whom to name it greatly aggrugeth the heart of our sovereign lord." George, Duke of Clarence, is then named, "wherein it is to be remembered that the King's highness of tender youth unto now of late hath ever loved and cherished him, as tenderly and as kindly as any creature might his natural brother, as well it may be declared, by that that he being right young, not born to have any livelihood, but only of the King's grace, he gave him so large portion of possessions that no memory is of or seldom hath been seen, that any King of England heretofore within his Royaulme gave so largely to any of his brothers . . . so that after the King's his livelihood and riches notably exceeded any other within his land at that

[1] "Rot. Parl.," vi, p. 193.

time." The King gave him authority, too, notwithstanding " the large grace and forgiveness that he gave him uppon, and for that at divers times sith he greatly offended the King, as in jupartyng the King's Royal Estate, person and life, in straight ward, putting him thereby from all his liberty after procuring great commotions." This reference to the King's incarceration at Warwick and Middleham in 1469 was followed by an account of his flight in 1470 and Clarence's treasonable support of King Henry, " which all the king by nature and love moved, utterly forgave, intending to have put all in perpetual oblivion." So far the Bill rings true, and sympathy is on the side of Edward. But the specific charges which follow are vague : Clarence is accused of saying that Burdett was wrongly put to death ; of unlawfully assembling people ; of accusing the King of working " by necromancy and craft to poison his subjects "—slandering him ; of proclaiming the King a bastard ; of making a party of men sworn to support him and his. The matter of the exemplification of the Statute of 1470 is then mentioned and is followed by the charge of plotting to send his own son secretly out of the land to Ireland or Flanders (keeping a strange child in his place at Warwick Castle) " whereby he might have gotten him assistance and favour against " the King. Men had been armed and told to be ready to come to him " at an hour's warning."

The Charges brought against him.

Therefore " the King remembering ever that the nearness of blood, how by nature he might be kind to his brother, the tender love which of youth he bare unto him, could have found in his heart upon due submission to have yet forgiven him :"—but he had shown himself " incorrigible, and in no wise reducible

(to submission) by bond of nature," or for benefits received. Moreover, the King must defend his surety and Royal issue, and the tranquillity of Church and nation, which would be imperilled " if justice and due punishment of so loathly offences should be pardoned." Wherefore the King " right sorry to determine himself to the contrary yet considering justice a virtue excellently pleasing Almighty God " declared him guilty of high treason.

Painful scene in Parliament.

In answer to these charges delivered by the King in person, Clarence brought denials and defiance, offering wager of battle. The scene was painful: only a few witnesses were introduced, and they gave evidence in the manner of accusers.[1] In the circumstances only one conclusion was possible, and Parliament declared Clarence guilty of high treason. Sentence of death was passed in a Court of Chivalry on February 8th under the Duke of Buckingham, who was appointed High Steward simply " for the execution of the Duke of Clarence."[2] This was followed by a short delay during which some efforts were made on behalf of the prisoner. The King is said to have foregone the public execution of his brother by hanging, drawing and quartering, at the request of his mother.[3] The Commons, however, were induced to bring up a petition for the execution of the sentence, and on February 18th he was reported dead: no one has ever known how he met his end, but almost at once the story that he had been drowned in a butt of malmsey made its appearance in writers

Clarence's death and character.

[1] Cont. Croyland, pp. 479-80.
[2] " Rot. Parl.," vi, p. 195.
[3] Commines, ed. Lenglet, ii, p. 147, the most circumstantial account, which says he was put head first into a pipe of malmsey, and afterwards beheaded.

at home and abroad,[1] a story which has never received either confirmation or discredit from subsequent investigation. He may have been allowed to choose this queer death:[2] he may have been allowed to drink himself insensible before death: or he may have been killed and his body bestowed for the time in an empty wine cask: or the whole story may be based on the knowledge or rumour of his intemperance. But we have no real evidence of drunkenness or any kind of vice in Clarence's life except those of utter selfishness and treachery. He was a busybody of the worst type, quite incapable of seeing the effect and appearance of his own actions: entirely faithless and false. Nevertheless he had a share of popularity; in appearance and manner he resembled the King.[3] He had the personal courage of his house and bore himself bravely in the field: he had played a considerable part in the political affairs of the nation for some years. But he was emphatically dangerous to a King like Edward, under whom there was no room for parties—against whom there was no appeal, whose will was law, whose purpose for his people was strong government and good government, but in no shadow of a sense self-government. Any discontent could only express itself in a faction, by the very nature of things forced to the appearance of rebellion. How far the specific charges against Clarence were true we shall never know. Certainly he had irritated his brother beyond endurance, and disregarded repeated warnings and forgiveness. We know that there was considerable disturbance in the

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi; Commines; O. de la Marche; Fabyan.
[2] Strickland, Vol. II, p. 351.
[3] More, "Life of Richard," iii, p. 64.

country in 1477, and Edward issued a proclamation calling attention to the statutes as to keeping the peace and assisting the Sheriffs.[1] But if we are to believe writers of the time, and of the next century, Edward "inwardly repented very often of this act."[2] "Inasmuch that when any person sued to him for pardon or remission of any malefactor condemned to the punishment of death, he would accustomably say and openly speak, 'Oh, unfortunate brother, for whose life not one creature would make intercession!'"[3]

Effect in the country of the execution of Clarence.

The fact and the reported manner of the execution of Clarence caused feelings of alarm and indignation throughout the country. "Many persons left the King, fully persuaded he would be able to lord it over the whole kingdom at his will and pleasure, all those idols being now removed, towards the face of whom the eyes of the multitude, ever desirous of change, had been in the habit of turning in times past. They regarded as idols of this description the Earl of Warwick, the Duke of Clarence, and any other great person there might then happen to be in the kingdom, who had withdrawn himself from the King's intimacy."[4] Edward, however, was now too strong to be shaken by any signs of discontent. "He appeared to be dreaded by all his subjects, while he himself stood in fear of no one."[5]

From this point until the end of the reign, England is almost destitute of domestic history. It would have been well if the same could have been said concerning its foreign relations.

[1] Oct. 6th. 1477. See Addit. MS., Brit. Mus., 4614.
[2] Cont. Croyland, p. 480.
[3] Grafton, ii, p. 68.
[4] Cont. Croyland, p. 480.
[5] *Ibid.*

Edward, Louis and Maximilian, 1477-1480.

King Louis had scored a great success in annexing so large a part of the Burgundian territories. But the Archduke Maximilian, whom Mary of Burgundy chose as her husband in August, 1477, found Edward of England extremely difficult to rouse to a sense of the new position. The payments of King Louis continued; he had several of the English courtiers in his interest through the pensions he sent regularly to them; thus he felt for the time he had nothing to fear. In October, 1477, King Edward had entertained at the same time ambassadors from both parties at Westminster, "where was had doubt in the opinion of some folks lest there should have been heart-burning betwext the said ambassadors."[1] Indeed, it was difficult to steer a course between the two, especially in face of the ever-growing irritation of the English public. The situation was one that needed all the subtle genius of King Louis. Desultory hostilities with Maximilian, in which the Archduke had some success, rendered it absolutely necessary for him to give no open cause of offence to the English King. Accordingly to Edward's remonstrances and protestations on behalf of Maximilian and Mary he returned evasive answers. Meanwhile there was nothing he would not grant to keep him quiet. The term of arbitration for the English claims in France was prolonged in June, 1478, till August, 1481.

In July, 1478, he offered the English King, in order to disarm his suspicion, an amazing bribe, so extravagant in its terms, so impossible of future fulfilment, so entirely humiliating to the French nation that common sense should have warned Edward against

[1] Addit. MSS., 6113, f. 75.

entertaining the idea of it. But the truth is that any change of policy not only implied material loss, but, in his eyes, cast retrospective reflection on his policy in 1475 and since. Louis's ambassador offered to prorogue the truce with him, not until the death of either, but until 100 years after the death of whichever should die first, during all of which period the annual payment of 50,000 crowns from France to England was to continue. Edward allowed himself to entertain the proposal; English commissioners were appointed to consider details, and in February, 1479, the French ambassador pledged himself in the strongest possible way, and engaged Louis to the same, to the ratification and performance of these ridiculous terms of treaty.[1] The actual signature of King Louis only was wanting; for another whole year Edward occupied himself in fruitless embassies to secure its ratification, and to hasten the performance of that part of the treaty of 1475 which he regarded as of even greater importance than his pension—the marriage of the Dauphin to his daughter Elizabeth. Louis, courteously entertaining the embassies sent to him, continually shuffled and obscured the issue, all the while making the half-yearly payments with regularity. But nothing definite as to the future would he say.

Efforts of Maximilian to obtain Edward's help.

In the meantime Maximilian and Mary and Margaret of Burgundy had spared no pains to show Edward his true position. Throughout the year 1478 the commercial relations of England and Flanders were improved by treaties.[2] But in the summer

[1] Commines, ed. Lenglet, iii, p. 561; Rymer, xii, p. 106.

[2] Rymer, xii, pp. 66, 91.

of the following year definite proposals of a political nature were made by Maximilian.[1] He empowered his ambassador to ask for the hand of Edward's daughter, Anne, for his son, Philip, offering to guarantee the payment of a pension of equal value with that which King Louis was then paying to Edward; a pension which was certain to cease if the negotiation came to anything. In August the King of England promised not to engage Anne in marriage to anyone except Philip during the coming three years. But Maximilian was proverbial for close-fistedness and tried to beat Edward down in the matter of the pension, urging him to seek his reward in a new invasion of France, by which he might at least acquire Normandy and Acquitaine.[2] Disregarding the suggestion, Edward held out for better financial terms. He stipulated for the payment of Louis' pension and a dowry as well, and for some time the matter was in suspense. King Louis was hard at work forming new plans, among which was one to detach Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, from her stepdaughter's cause, by a marriage. In these circumstances, Maximilian decided that a visit to her brother might help forward his negotiations with Edward and keep Margaret away from dangerous contact with the emissaries of the King of France.[3] Sending word by her that he would do nothing without Edward's advice, he began in her absence to treat with King Louis.

The visit of Margaret was a great event at the English Court. In July, 1480, she landed in

[1] Commines, ed. Lenglet, iii, pp. 572-3.
[2] Oman, "Political History," Vol. IV, p. 464.
[3] Commines, ed. Lenglet, *ut supra.*

England.[1] Outwardly she had no reason to complain of her reception. She stayed in England until the end of September. In July she wrote that Edward was "better and better inclined in your just and good quarrel against King Louis."[2] In August, 1480, a treaty of perpetual friendship between Edward and Maximilian was followed by a treaty of marriage between Philip and Anne. A dowry of 8,000 livres was to be paid by the Burgundians, and the King agreed to pay 4,000 if the marriage were to fail to take place through any fault of his. Maximilian and Mary were to indemnify him for the probable loss of the French pension, but need make no payment on that account for the first year in consideration of releasing him from payment of a portion of the dowry of 100,000 crowns for Anne. He offered them his arbitration with King Louis and promised help in case of Louis's refusal to accept it, specifying a force of 6,000 archers and a fleet.

Failure of the negotiations with Burgundy.

Two circumstances combined to protract these negotiations and to render them eventually futile. King Edward was very angry when intelligence reached him of Maximilian's independent negotiations with Louis: an irritation which was increased for reasons which will appear by discovering that he was also in correspondence with the King of Scots. The King of France was reported to be making warlike preparations; but Maximilian came to truce with

[1] The "Wardrobe Accounts," 1480 (ed. Sir Harris Nicolas, 1830), show extensive preparations on her behalf. Magnificent liveries were provided for all her suite and gorgeous trappings for her horses. She stayed at Coldharbour, in Thames Street, which was decorated with tapestries against her coming. Cloth of silver, scarlet, violet and black velvets were given to her attendants.

[2] Commines, ed. Lenglet, iii, p. 576.

him in the early autumn of 1480, and proposed that a conference of the three powers should take place on October 15th. Louis had sent an envoy to the English Court with costly presents early in the month,[1] and up to that point had remained firm in his old policy of keeping England and Burgundy apart: but he discovered the results of Margaret's efforts at the English Court on her stepdaughter's behalf. Attributing her persistence to spite against him for not supporting Clarence "in his evil designs," he saw that the moment had come for a change of policy. Accordingly he turned to Maximilian, with the results that we have seen. For the moment Edward found himself obliged to acquiesce in Maximilian's decision, but in view of the health of King Louis, who, in March, 1480, had had an attack of apoplexy, he advised that no definite peace should be made—but merely a truce for two years. In August he had made yet another unsuccessful demand for the performance of the marriage of Elizabeth and the Dauphin.[2] Affairs had reached a deadlock and even to Edward it must have now become clear that he was being deceived.

Other foreign alliances of King Edward.

In the meantime he was endeavouring to build up a solid system of alliance with other European powers. In July, 1480, he extended the treaties with Denmark for two years, and in the next year engaged his daughter Mary to marry the young King Frederick II.[3]

As early as 1477 proposals had been made, in confirmation of the treaties between the two powers, for a marriage between members of the Royal houses of

[1] Commines, ed. Lenglet, iv, p. 9.
[2] Rymer, xii, p. 135.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 119. The marriage was not mentioned in the treaty, but it was certainly arranged.

England and Castile, which took definite shape in August, 1479, in the selection of the Lady Katherine of England as a bride for John, son and heir of Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile. In March, 1482, a commission was appointed to conclude the marriage.[1]

More important in view of coming events was an arrangement of a similar nature with Duke Francis of Brittany; on June 22nd a treaty of marriage between the Prince of Wales and Anne, the eldest daughter of the Duke, was concluded.[2] The firm friendship of Brittany might have meant much; but its ruler was sinking into a state of confirmed ill-health, and was no longer in any sense able to hold his old independent position towards his suzerain of France.

It is a melancholy fact that not one of these marriages was to take place. Mary died in 1482; Katherine and Anne were to contract alliances of a very much less important nature; while for the Prince of Wales the future held a fate which is the darkest spot in the story of the Royal House of England. To complete the tale of foreign affairs, we may notice a ratification in 1482 of the ancient alliance with Portugal, and mercantile agreements with East and West Friesland in 1478.

The failure of Edward's foreign policy.

The story of Edward's dealings with the rulers of Burgundy and France in these years shows him in his weakest light. The indecision, alternating with perverse determination, which blinded him to the conduct of King Louis, weakened the position of England in continental affairs. Whether, if he had lived long enough, he would, by bringing to effect the marriage alliances he had planned, have succeeded in

[1] Rymer, xii, pp. 42, 110, 119.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 37, 142.

building up in Western Europe a body of states under rulers of friendly relations, with England as their leader, it is hard to say. But he was trying to do too much. Never a far-seeing politician, he had not thought out his policy with any clearness, and did not pursue it with any decision. He was too apt to cling to a present advantage, too willing to be deceived, and with a Louis XI as his great rival in the affairs of Western Europe such a disposition was fatal. Some explanation of it may be found in his domestic policy, and in the state of his health, which, after the death of the Duke of Clarence, was obviously declining. He grew more corpulent and disordered, though we have some reason to believe that, perhaps from satiety, his life had, in some respects, become more reputable.[1] He had not travelled about the country as much as in the earlier portion of his reign. In September, 1478, we find him received in great state at York,[2] where he had probably gone to escape the plague, which for the third time in his reign visited London with some severity. In 1479 he began his Christmas at Woking, but after five days moved to Greenwich.[3]

The accounts of the wardrobe for the year 1480 reveal the splendour of the Court. Entries for velvets, satins, damasks, silks from Gascony, green velvet embroidered with aiglets of silver and gilt, ermine, sables, violet ingrain," "ten ostrich feathers at 20s. each," hint at the gorgeousness of the Royal palaces.[4] The Princess Elizabeth receives fifteen yards of green tissue cloth of gold; the Prince of Wales six

[1] More, "Richard," iii, p. 3.
[2] Davies, "York Records in the XVth Century," p. 78.
[3] Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus., 6113.
[4] See "Wardrobe Accounts," 1480, *ut supra*.

yards of white cloth of gold tissue for a gown; Richard, Duke of York, harness and a saddle, fifteen yards of purple velvet, twenty yards of satin, twenty-two yards of black "sarsinette"; and various gifts, including a pair of shoes for the Earl of Warwick, the orphaned son of the Duke of Clarence, are recorded.

No doubt this expenditure was considered "good for trade," and the splendid ceremonial of the Court contributed to the admiration with which Edward was regarded by the London merchants. The festivities of Christmas were always observed with special magnificence. In 1481 the Royal pair celebrated them at Windsor with a brilliant Court.[1]

In that year and the following Edward seems to have visited Southampton, Reading, Nottingham, Guildford and Berkhamsted, where his mother had taken up her residence at the castle, besides his palaces at Windsor, Sheen, Eltham and Greenwich.[2]

Divisions in the Court.

There is no whisper of domestic trouble, beyond what may be indicated by an apparently false accusation brought against a certain Robert Strange of sending money to the Earl of Richmond in 1479.[3] Edward seems rapidly to have recovered his popularity endangered by the execution of Clarence, in spite of the fact that he added to his revenues by an increased strictness in the administration of the law, "searching out the penal offences as well of the chief of his nobility as of other gentlemen being of great possessions."[4] Such a course was perhaps not unwelcome to the trading and middle classes, who rejoiced in the

[1] Addit. MS. 6113, f. 111.
[2] See Addit. MSS., Brit Mus., 24,512.
[3] See Seyer's "Memoirs of Bristol," Vol. II.
[4] Hall, p. 329.

strength of their King and the impotence to which the aristocracy was reduced. But Edward needed all his powers of strength and persuasion to keep the peace in his Court, where ineradicable dissensions prevailed. The Queen and her relations were still universally unpopular, and it is possible that the King personally was a gainer thereby, as everything that was oppressive and irritating was attributed to the grasping Woodville faction. This party was by no means numerous: the Earl Rivers, Lionel Woodville, Bishop of Salisbury, Sir Edward Woodville, the Marquis of Dorset, the Queen's eldest son by her first husband, and his brother, Richard Grey, could not of themselves have had much power. Apparently the various Lords who had received Woodville wives were not thereby attached to the Queen's party. The King's policy in promoting and favouring them must be judged for its political effects in the weakening of the older baronage, not for its immediate effect in strengthening his own position, which, indeed, it did not succeed in doing. There seems to have been something in all the family which made them incapable of conciliating their enemies—an insolence or falseness of character which made them objects of continual suspicion. Opposed to them was the party headed by Lord Hastings, who like them owed everything to the King, as did Lord Howard. Both were devotedly faithful to Edward; but Hastings' character, chivalrous and accomplished as he was, seems to have been in some ways undesirable, and his intimacy was bad for the King.[1] The Lords Stanley and Lovell may be counted, too, as strong supporters of the King, but enemies of the

[1] More, "Richard III," p. 9.

Woodvilles. Of the old nobility the Duke of Buckingham shared this enmity to the full, in spite of his marriage with the Queen's sister. Between Rivers and Hastings there was a lasting feud, and on one occasion their relations became so bad that Edward was obliged to send Hastings to the Tower for a time. The Duke of Suffolk, whose Duchess was a sister of Edward's, was a loyal friend of his King, as was the Earl of Northumberland, whose conduct had contributed so much to the success of his return and the reconquest of his kingdom in 1471. Besides Richard of Gloucester, Stanley, Hastings and Howard, the most important men officially and politically were the Earl of Essex, the Treasurer, the Chancellor and the Keeper of the Privy Seal, Archbishop Rotherham and John Russell, Bishop of Lincoln. There may be mentioned besides the above, as frequently figuring in the ceremonies and festivities of the Court, the young Earl of Shrewsbury, the Lords Audley and Berkeley, the two Lords Dacre, Lord de la Warre, the Earl of Lincoln, son of the Duke of Suffolk, and Lord Maltravers, son of the Earl of Kent.

The Duke of Gloucester.

But far the most important man in England after the King, subsequent to the death of the Duke of Clarence, was Richard, Duke of Gloucester. He was employed by the King in all affairs of State as "general councillor and administrator." His behaviour had been exemplary. It was known that he shared to the full the popular detestation of the Woodvilles, and it is said that he artfully and continually fomented the dissensions of the parties at Court for his own purposes. But all such reports must be accepted with caution. There is sufficient authority for saying only that he was becoming a

very important figure in the eyes of the nation, and was earning in the North, where he was most known, a real popularity. In his restless energy and promptness of decision he contrasted favourably with the King, with whose policy he was not always in agreement. Writers of a subsequent date say that he had observed the King's failing health, and had begun to entertain thoughts as to the future which it was black treason to think: and that he pointed the contrast between himself and his brother at every opportunity.[1] He had an opportunity of showing his talents on a wide field in the lamentable relapse into hostile relations with Scotland, which bring the reign to an inglorious end.

[1] Habington, p. 201.

CHAPTER XV

THE WAR WITH SCOTLAND—DEATH OF EDWARD IV

James III of Scotland.

THE character of James III of Scotland has been rated high by a modern historian, who sees in him an "artist," "dreamer," a "fastidious, princely amateur" who supplied in the sordid annals of his time in Scotland a "note of early Renaissance."[1] Like Edward, a trader,[2] he showed more definitely than that monarch a love of literature and the arts: but he differed from him entirely in his governing capacity. Unwarlike and retiring of disposition, he gave deep offence to his nobility by the friendship he showed for Professors of various arts, men by birth outside the circle of the ancient nobility of Scotland. The party of opposition had found a leader in the King's brother, Alexander, Duke of Albany, who, suspected by the King, was imprisoned in 1478, but about May, 1479, escaped and fled to France.

Since 1474 and the treaty of friendship and prospective alliance by marriage, relations between England and Scotland had been most cordial. The first breach in these relations was caused, apparently, by the marriage proposals of James III on behalf of the Duke of Clarence and Margaret of Burgundy, which offended Edward as giving cause for suspicion that his brother was intriguing with the Scottish Court. Shortly after this he became uneasy as to the sincerity

[1] Lang, "History of Scotland," Vol. I, p. 319 *seq.*

[2] See Burnet's introduction to "The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland," Vol. VII.

of King James's intentions in the matter of the marriage of Cecily and the heir of Scotland. The Earl of Douglas was at the English Court, and probably had something to do with this feeling, which the subsequent conduct of James increased. To understand what follows it must be borne in mind that James was almost powerless at home, but that he showed from Edward's point of view a sinister activity in foreign affairs.[1] Nevertheless a little later we find Edward consenting to another marriage proposal, which had been broached a year before, that the Earl Rivers should marry Margaret, sister of the Scottish King, and a safe conduct to England was granted for her on January 23rd, 1479.[2] The next step was a request from King James for a safe conduct for himself; he wished to go on pilgrimage to Amiens, and Edward added to the document which he issued on March 17th, the intimation of a strong desire to meet and entertain his brother monarch on his return.[3] The pilgrimage had been talked of since 1475, and did not even now take place; but it is probable that Edward looked on the request as indicating suspicious relations between James and the King of France. He stopped his payments of Cecily's dowry,[4] and from this point relations between the two Courts became more and more strained. The Duke of Albany, who had been Warden of the East Marches, before fleeing to France

Misunderstanding with King Edward.

[1] See Burnet, *ut supra.*

[2] "Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland," Vol. IV, p. 295.

[3] Rymer, xii, p. 50.

[4] The Payments went on till 1479. See "Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland" (J. Bain). Vol. IV, Introd., p. xxxvi.

had, it seems, wantonly broken the truce with England and incited raids over the border in the approved style of former days, by way of embarrassing his brother.[1] In June, 1479, Edward sent Garter King-at-Arms to Scotland " for divers special causes and matters moving the King at Council, and very greatly concerning the tranquillity and peace of the realm," which no doubt meant a remonstrance against the infractions of the treaty.[2] But at the very same time he was entertaining in London a herald from the Earl of Rosse, his old ally of 1462, from whom doubtless he acquired information as to the state of affairs in Scotland.[3] By the end of the year it was clear that he had determined to reconsider his policy towards Scotland. It is difficult to follow the workings of his mind. All his public utterances show a real fear that he was being deceived by the King of Scotland and that the dynastic alliance was likely to fall through. It has been suggested that, after the Treaty of Picquigny, Edward felt that the main reason for the Scottish alliance was removed.[4] Whether knowing of James's domestic embarrassments, he thought he could now secure easier terms—the payments were an irksome necessity for a King who was, like Edward, living " of his own,"—or whether the Duke of Gloucester urged him to a course which would furnish a field whereon he might enhance his reputation, by dwelling on the chance the state of Scotland afforded of

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 436.
[2] " Calendar of Scottish Docs.," June 15th, '79, Vol. IV, page 296.
[3] *Ibid.*, July 6th.
[4] Burnet, " Exchequer Rolls of Scotland," viii. Introd., p. lxi.

recovering Berwick, we cannot tell. But in the early months of 1480 the King prepared for an exhibition of force. On May 12th, the Duke of Gloucester was made commander of an army "to repel invasion of the Scots," and commissions were issued to array the northern counties.[1] Further raids from Scotland, again conducted by leaders of the party in domestic opposition to King James, took place in the summer and Bamborough was burnt. It seems as if there was a determination to force Edward to war. The English force, indeed, did attempt to catch the raiders, but no armed conflict resulted.

King James, though disclaiming authority for these acts of hostility, had by now given still deeper cause of offence to the King of England by his correspondence with foreign powers. He negotiated with Maximilian, and coming to no agreement with him, turned again to King Louis. Scottish warships were reported at Dieppe, seizing English and Flemish vessels which were acting in the interests of Burgundy.[2] Accordingly, when he sent a herald to the English Court to treat for mutual redress of grievances, King Edward disregarded his errand. If, as is stated, James actually forbade Edward to help Burgundy, threatening if he did so to treat him as an enemy and support France, the failure of the embassy was only to be expected.[3]

Hostilities in 1481.

In April, 1481, Lord Howard was sent with a fleet which captured the shipping in Leith and other harbours. At the same time, a Scottish force was raised, but on marching towards the invaders was,

[1] Rymer, xii, pp. 115-7.
[2] Commines, ed. Lenglet, p. 576 *seq.*
[3] See Burnet, "Rolls of Exchequers," Vol. IX. Introd., p. xxxviii.

according to report, met by a Papal envoy, in deference to whose monitions it was disbanded, on the understanding that Edward would do the same.[1] The story of the envoy is doubtful, and it seems probable that James and his favourites, dreading the assembly of an armed force, knowing that it would be honeycombed with treachery and as likely to use its power against enemies at Court as against those of England, were still trying to avoid a conflict. At any rate, it is not until August 20th, 1481, that we find King Edward writing to the Pope in a way that would suggest a Papal envoy being sent. He says that "the perfidious Scots" prevented him from joining him in a Crusade on behalf of Christendom against the Turk. He had been obliged to take up arms. He requests that the Pope will order the Scottish King to acknowledge "the indubitable right of our supremacy and give security that we shall not be defrauded of the marriage of his son and our daughter"—and goes on to make the necessary hostilities an excuse for the irregularity with which the tithes had been paid.[2]

All the year preparations for large operations continue, but in spite of a present to the troops of eighty butts of malmsey, very little had been done:[3] some villages over the Border were ravaged and burnt, but no Scottish force assembled for the reason shown above. Berwick had not been recovered. But now more definite hostilities were proposed. No Parliament was summoned, but by a methodical exaction of benevolences and loans, and the grant of

[1] See Burnet, "Rolls of Exchequers," Vol. IX. Introd., p. xxxviii.

[2] "Venetian Papers," p. 475.

[3] Devon, "Roll of Accts.," Michaelmas 20, Ed. IV.

a tenth by Convocation, sufficient money was secured to raise a large force, including apparently a company of Swiss mercenaries.[1] A definite understanding was reached with the Earl of Rosse. On March 5th, 1482, instructions were drawn up for ambassadors to King James. With the preamble that "the King of Scots doth not his homage unto the King of England as he oweth to do, and as his progenitors have done in time past whereof resteth record to be shown," the ambassadors are to demand that homage be paid; the young Prince James be given into the charge of the Earl of Northumberland by May 31st as surety for the performance of his marriage; that the Earl of Douglas, who has been wronged, be restored; and that Berwick and Roxburgh, wrongfully held by the Scots, be given up to the English. If these terms are refused the King of England may be induced to be content with the delivery of the Prince.[2]

Edward's ultimatum to King James.

Whether these terms were ever delivered to King James we do not know. But the document shows a mixture of motives on the part of King Edward. The marriage project is still his greatest anxiety; but the desire to get Berwick definitely makes its appearance. His use of the cause of the exiled Douglas points the way to the next step in his policy.

The same month the Scottish Parliament met in some alarm; King James declared once more his desire for peace, but it was now evident that an army must be raised. Edward is described as "the Reiver (robber) Edward, calling himself King of England."

The report of the proceedings of the Scottish

[1] "Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland," iv, p. 301.
[2] See Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus., 4614, March 5th, 1482.

Parliament decided Edward to new measures and introduced the second stage of the Scottish war. He issued a proclamation saying that "The said James, King of Scots, against all faith, troth and honour . . . hath suddenly, without warning and without cause or matter reasonable, levied war within this our realm intending to dilate his marches far within ours." They had been driven back in the previous year, but "in their obstinacy" were preparing again. At a Great Council in November the "lords of council utterly determined us to address us in person in all goodly haste towards the said portions of Scotland with arms and host royal."[1] He now summoned to England Alexander, Duke of Albany, who had been unable to win help from France against his brother. Louis, indifferent as to what party in Scotland was in power, so long as it gave Edward trouble, heard with pleasure of this step. Real war must result from such a combination.

Edward allied with the Duke of Albany, June, 1482.

Albany arrived in London on May 2nd, and later accompanied the King to Fotheringay.[2] Edward was already in communication with the malcontents. He now came to terms with their leader, and it is in these terms that he showed himself at his worst. Mary of Guelders, mother of James and of his brothers, had been a person of by no means immaculate behaviour, and this fact was now used by Albany, who, declaring his brother illegitimate, induced Edward to support him in proclaiming himself "King of Scotland by the gift of the King of England."[3] He was to do homage and bind himself by treaty to

[1] Harleian MS., 78, f. 3b.
[2] Ramsay, ii, p. 443.
[3] Rymer, xii, p. 156.

support Edward against all other powers, giving to England Berwick, Liddesdale, Eskdale, Eversdale, Annandale and Lockmaben Castle: most disgraceful of all, receiving in return the hand of the Lady Cecily, if he could "mak hymself clere fra all other women according to the laws of Cristis chyrche." As Albany had divorced one wife and recently married again in France, the iniquity of the arrangement need not be dwelt upon.[1] The Duke was liberally feed and rewarded and sent on to join the Commander-in-Chief, Richard of Gloucester, at York; the King, by now probably incapable of the fatigues of a campaign, returning to London and considerately sending his physician and surgeon with a stock of medicines, "ciripp, Alexaundrines, electuary," for his brother's use.[2] On July 15th the army was ordered to begin its march. The Scottish army moved out to meet them, and at once that happened which James had feared. The opposition barons, under the leadership of the Earl of Angus, took his advice to "bell the cat." James's favourites were seized, some hanged, some exiled, and James himself was taken back to Edinburgh Castle. The English force, as it advanced, was met by a deputation of Scottish barons with proposals. "Gloucester demanded the surrender of Berwick Castle (he had already captured the town) as the price of an armistice," but to that the Scots would not agree.[3] Members of the King's party succeeded in inducing Albany to make his own terms with his brother, promising him pardon and restitution for submission and allegiance. However,

Advance of the English army, July.

[1] Ramsay, ii, p. 443.
[2] Devon, "Issues," Easter, 22 Ed. IV.
[3] Ramsay, ii, p. 446.

two days later the English army entered Edinburgh, and on August 4th the Provost and Community of Edinburgh undertook that their King should keep to his promise that his son should marry Cecily: but if Edward now wished to cancel the engagement they would refund to him the sums he had advanced as her dowry. With Scotland united on this policy further hostilities were out of the question. "The six weeks' campaign was at an end."

Results of the campaign.

The one triumph of the expedition, the capture of Berwick, was an extremely costly one, as a garrison had to be kept there constantly:[1] and it was partly on account of this that King Edward, at his wits' end for money, decided to forego the Scottish marriage in return for the sums advanced as dowry—an intention which he signified on October 12th.[2]

The outstanding result of the campaign was the success of Gloucester, who was richly rewarded. But it is suggested that the fact of Edward's taking from him the Constable's staff and putting the office into Commission may be an indication of a "certain distrust."[3] It is known that Richard had a party in the North in the last years of the reign who looked upon him as something more than uncle to the heir.[4] Nevertheless the King, writing to the Pope on August 25th, had spoken in the warmest terms of his brother's exploits, adding that he had intended to lead the army himself but was prevented by "adverse turmoil." He had confidence that the Scots under Albany's guidance would observe all treaties, but begged the

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 481.
[2] Rymer, xii, p. 165.
[3] Ramsay, ii, pp. 447-451.
[4] Davies, "York Records," p. 140.

Pope to strengthen his hands with monitions to them to do so.[1]

Edward and Pope Sixtus IV.

Edward stood well with the Pope. In 1479 he had sent the Abbot of Abingdon and the Archdeacon of Richmond to treat with him, the Kings of Sicily, Hungary and the Italian Princes concerning the state of religion,[2] and on St. George's Day, 1482, Sixtus presented him with a sword and cap of maintenance, the Archbishop of York, in the presence of other Bishops and Lords, performing the ceremony of investment.[3]

On Thursday, May 23rd, Edward's daughter Mary died; her health had been for some time declining, and the proposals for her marriage with the King of Denmark had been broken off on that account.

The King and the City.

The King had retained and increased his popularity in spite of the financial measures to which he found himself driven. In June, 1481, the City had granted him a loan of 5,000 marks, which was repaid the following year.[4] By way of showing his gratitude for the confidence displayed in him, he, in July, 1482, invited the Mayor, Aldermen and some of the Common Council to hunt with him in the forest at Waltham. After some good sport the guests were conducted to "a pleasant lodge made of green bows" where they were entertained "with very well seasoned meat" and "divers wines good plenty, as white, red and claret." The King "caused them to be set to dinner or he were served of his own," and sent them away with a present of venison. In the

[1] "Venetian Papers," p. 483.
[2] Rymer, xii, p. 108.
[3] MS. Stowe, 1047, f. 210b.
[4] Sharpe, "London and the Kingdom," Vol. I, p. 308.

following month he sent two harts and six bucks to the Mayoress and Aldermen's wives, and a tun of wine, which good fare was consumed at a feast in Drapers' Hall.[1] The Mayor, "a merchant of wondrous adventures," had been able to make money for the King in trading operations, "beside other pleasures that he had showed to the King before times."[2] By such means Edward endeared himself to the hearts of the Londoners.

The Court at Christmas, 1482.

Christmas, 1482, was spent at Eltham, where the King "kept his estate all the whole feast in his great chamber, and the Queen in her chamber, where were daily more than 2,000 persons served."[3] A contemporary writer has left us a graphic account of the prosperous appearance of the Court at this season: "You might have seen, in those days, the royal Court presenting no other appearance than such as fully befits a most mighty kingdom, filled with riches and with people of almost all nations, and (a point in which it excelled all others) boasting of those most sweet and beautiful children,"[4] the issue of the King and Queen. One of the guests appears to have been Andrew Palaeologus, a member of the fallen imperial house of Constantinople.[5] The King appeared "clad in a great variety of most costly garments, of quite a different cut to those which had been usually seen hitherto in our kingdom. The sleeves of the robes were very full and hanging, greatly resembling a monk's frock, and so lined within with most costly furs and rolled over the shoulders as to give that

[1] Vitellius, A., xvi.
[2] Fabyan, p. 667.
[3] Stowe.
[4] Cont. Croyland, p. 482.
[5] Ramsay, ii, p. 448.

Prince a new and distinguished air to beholders, he being a person of most elegant appearance, and remarkable beyond all others for the attraction of his person."[1]

New difficulties with Scotland.

But behind this outward appearance of prosperity and festivity there was plenty to trouble the mind of the King. In the first place, Scotland was again occupying his thoughts. On August 22nd he had again issued a safe conduct for Margaret, sister of King James, the prospective bride of Earl Rivers;[2] and on November 22nd had renewed a similar instrument for King James himself, who was again meditating the long talked of pilgrimage. This time Edward had good cause to suspect that the journey's real object was an interview with the King of France. It was now, or soon afterwards, that the Duke of Albany once more fell into disgrace at the Scottish Court, from which he was obliged to retire to his castle at Dunbar. Thence were sent to King Edward the Earl of Angus and Sir John Lyddall. On Candlemas Day we find them going in procession from St. Stephen's Chapel to Westminster Hall with the King and the Dukes of Gloucester and York.[3] On February 8th, 1483, the Earl of Northumberland and others were empowered to treat with them, and three days later a fresh agreement was made with Albany, on much the same terms as had obtained under the treaty of June 10th, 1482. Nothing came of the treaty, but the reason for King Edward's again entertaining such proposals is to be seen in a new clause, a suggestion of alliance against France. What had been long

[1] Cont. Croyland, pp. 480-1.
[2] Rymer, xii, pp. 662, 70.
[3] Addit. MSS., 6113, f. 111.

impending had come to pass, and Edward saw himself deceived, defied and mocked by Louis of France, who had dallied with him until the moment was ripe for his schemes.

The perfidy of Louis XI.

In March, 1482, Mary of Burgundy was killed by a fall from her horse, leaving two children, Philip and Margaret. The Flemings, who acknowledged no authority on the part of Maximilian, wished for peace and friendship with France. Accordingly, taking possession of the children, they readily listened to the overtures of Louis, and Maximilian found himself powerless to prevent their taking the course they wished. In the early autumn of 1482 King Louis, in order to keep the King of England quiet until his schemes were ratified by the consent of Maximilian, made a new treaty with him, to take effect until one year after the death of whichever of the two should die first. It was published in France on October 16-20.[1] But Maximilian, on December 23rd, signed the final treaty, by which the objects of Louis's ambition were to be secured. The Dauphin was to marry the baby Margaret of Burgundy when she came of age to marry, the provinces which Louis had taken from the inheritance of Charles the Bold being settled on the young couple. The treaties with King Edward were deliberately and contemptuously ignored.

Edward's anger.

Never a far-seeing politician, Edward had been during the last three years struggling with increasing entanglements, utterly unable to see a clear way of escape, baffled, duped, with an ever-growing consciousness of ultimate failure. The shock of open defiance, the utter faithlessness of King Louis, woke

[1] *English Historical Review*, July, 1897. Article by Wentworth Webster.

him once more to a flash of his old spirit. Summoning a Parliament, the first since that which had condemned his brother Clarence, he laid before it the tale of Louis's deception and his own wrongs.[1] The country undoubtedly welcomed the prospect of avenging their King. A tenth and a fifteenth were granted. The King could now prepare to justify himself in the eyes of his subjects by a new invasion of France, undertaken this time in a spirit very much more real than was the expedition of 1475. But it was not to be: Edward's system was thoroughly worn out, and under the strain put upon it and the depression consequent upon his obvious failure in the darling project of his heart, it broke down.

King Edward falls ill.

At the end of March he took to his bed at Westminster. He appears to have known that his end was near: body and spirit were incapable of rallying. He is said to have summoned to his death-bed the nobles to whom his son's destinies must be committed, and to have endeavoured to reconcile the feuds which had so long distracted the Court; the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Hastings in particular he addressed. Recommending his children's youth to the consideration of all, he begged them to cease from rivalry and ambition—"great varriance hath ther long bene betwene you, not alway for great causes. Some time a thing right wel intended our miscontruccion turneth unto worse, or a smal displeasure done us, eyther our own affeccion or evil tongues agreveth. But this wote I well, ye never had so great cause of hatred as of love." "If you among youre selfe in a childes reygne fall at debate, many a good man shal perish and happely he too, and ye too, ere thys land

[1] "Rot. Parl.," vi, p. 196.

finde peace again." Exhorting them to love one another, the King "no longer enduring to sitte up laide him down on his right side, his face toward them: and none was there present that coulde refrain from weping. But the lordes recomforting him with as good wordes as they could, answering for the time as thei thought to stand with his pleasure, there in his presence (as by their wordes appered) each forgave other, and joyned their hands together, when (as it after appered by their dedes) their herts wer far asonder."[1] On April 9th, 1483, Edward died. He had not quite completed his forty-first year of life, of which he had reigned twenty-two years and one month. The cause of his death was by some described as an ague, a fever, complicated by the effects of a surfeit. But others were probably right in attributing it to the effects of prolonged evil-living, intensified by extreme depression caused by the disappointment he had experienced.[2]

Death of Edward IV, April 9th, 1483.

The royal remains lay naked to the waist for ten or twelve hours in order that the civic authorities and members of the Council might certify the death, after which they were removed to St. Stephen's Chapel, where for eight days mass was celebrated every morning. On April 17th, after a service in the Abbey, the funeral procession started for Windsor.[3] On the 19th King Edward was interred in St. George's Chapel. His tomb had been brought from abroad the previous year.[4] The funeral expenses amounted to a sum of £1,496 17s. 11d.[5] Three hundred years

[1] The story is from More, "Richard III," pp. 9-12.
[2] See Cont. Croyland, p. 483.
[3] See "Archæologia," i, p. 348.
[4] Devon, "Issues," Easter 22, Edward IV. The weight of the tomb broke the crane that landed it.
[5] See Collection of Wills. J. Nichols (1870), p. 345.

later some workmen, employed in re-paving the floor of St. George's Chapel, found that the stones covering the entrance to the Royal vault were decayed. The skeleton of King Edward, measuring more than six feet three inches, was discovered, and by the skull quantities of long brown hair which had fallen off. There were no traces of cerecloth, no rings or any other insignia, and it seemed that the tomb had at some time been plundered.[1]

Edward's Will.

King Edward's Will, probably a re-issue of that drawn up by him on the eve of the French expedition of 1475, had left directions as to his burial in St. George's: he wished that the Chapel should be completed under the supervision of the Bishop of Salisbury, after whose death the work should be controlled by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. A chantry of two priests was to be founded, who were to have no other duties than about his tomb, except at Festivals and when the Choir went in Procession. Thirteen poor men were to have seats in the Chapel and to pray for his soul. To his daughters he left sums of 10,000 marks chargeable on the revenues of the Duchy of Lancaster, "so that they be governed and ruled in their marriage by our dearest wife the Queen and by our son the Prince if God fortune him to come to age of discretion." To Richard, Duke of Norfolk and York, was left a liberal estate, to which he was to succeed at the age of sixteen.[2]

A most creditable feature of the Will was the care taken to ensure "the payment of all just debts and claims upon him: out of his chattels which he left

[1] See *Gentleman's Magazine*, 88, ii, 157. A lock of Edward's hair is preserved in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[2] For the Will, see "Excerpta Historica," p. 366.

behind him in such great abundance, satisfaction should be made, either fully, or on a composition made voluntarily, and without extortion on their part, to all those persons to whom he was, by contract, extortion, fraud, or any other mode indebted."[1] But, when these small claims were satisfied, no debts remained. He was the first King since Richard II who left anything but debts[2]—a fact which, considering the Scottish war, speaks volumes for his careful administration.

The failure of Edward's immediate plans.

He left a country at peace, and with signs of increasing prosperity. And yet in a few weeks his work seemed all undone. His very success had endangered the throne of his young heir. There was no other power in the kingdom than the Crown. If a man grasped that he grasped all. The very shadow of Parliamentary control was gone, and when the head of the executive was removed, no body remained to which his powers could safely, and of course be relegated. King Edward has suffered in the eyes of men of later times by the complete failure of all he had striven to do to guard the position of his son. For the open sore of Court rivalries and hatreds he must be held partly responsible. But no one could have foreseen the sudden burst of selfish wickedness which dethroned and slew Edward V and brought ruin to the House of York. It is remarkable how almost instantaneously all the honour of the Plantagenets was humbled to the dust. Richard III himself, after the murder of Edward and Richard, and the death of his only son, was slain at Bosworth Field: the fate of the daughters of Edward IV, destined apparently to foreign thrones, furnishes a

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 483.

[2] For Edward's Finance see Ramsay, ii, pp. 457-467.

strange story of the reversals of fortune. Cecily, "not so fortunate as fair,"[1] instead of marrying the heir of Scotland became the wife of Viscount Welles, and after him of "a gentleman named Kyme,"[2] from Lincolnshire, and died leaving no issue. Anne, betrothed to Philip of Austria, had to be content with Thomas Howard, Earl of Surrey and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. Catherine, who was to have married the heir of Castile, became the wife of Sir William Courtenay of Devon, while the youngest, Bridget, took the veil at Dartford. Little of their former splendour indeed remained to them after their father's death. But for Elizabeth, instead of the hand of the heir of France, was reserved that of the King of England, head of that House on whose apparent ruin her father had risen to the throne.[3]

Thus King Edward's schemes and hopes for his family were frustrated and mocked. But we must look beyond these things and estimate what as man and king he did for the nation.

[1] More, "Richard III," 1.

[2] Green, "Princesses," iii, p. 435.

[3] Edward left three natural children, Arthur, created Viscount Lisle 25th April, 1523, and Elizabeth, who married Sir Thomas Lumley. Ramsay (ii, 470) suggests that she was the daughter of Elizabeth Lucy. Arundel MS. 26, f. 29b, in the account of the funeral of Queen Elizabeth Woodville, mentions a third, a "Mistress Grace, a bastard daughter of King Edward," as accompanying the corpse from Bermondsey to Windsor.

E. Spelman, "History of the Civil Wars" (1792), makes Arthur the son of Eliz. Lucy; mentions Elizabeth Lumley, and gives the names of two more illegitimate children of Edward IV—Elizabeth, daughter of Katherine, daughter of Sir Robert Clavenger; and Isabella Mylbery. He does not mention Grace. He cites no authority, and I find no record of others than Arthur and the Elizabeth given by Ramsay, and the "Mistress Grace" of the Arundel MS.

CHAPTER XVI

CONCLUSIONS

Edward's proclamation on obtaining the Crown.

On March 6th, 1461, King Edward issued a proclamation saying that God "hath put in our remembrance the lamentable state and ruin of the Realm of England, and the loss of the obeisance of the realm of France . . . . the oppression of the people, the manslaughter, extortion, perjury and robbery amongst them . . . the very decay of merchandise . . . the exile of justice. We, therefore, to whom appertaineth the very Government of the said realm, . . . to remove and set apart the said mischiefs, and to the comfort and relief of the said subjects, notify unto all our subjects that we have taken possession of the crown and realm."[1]

The task was a heavy one: he who undertook it a youth not yet nineteen years old. The weakness of his predecessor, the abuses of the time, the necessities of his family's friends, the panic fear of London, made him King. The bravery and attractiveness of his personality gave him such a fund of loyalty and affection among his subjects at the beginning of his reign as had welcomed few of his ancestors to the throne. Free from responsibility for the stains on his country's honour, he might lead her to peace at home and glory abroad. Yet both peace and glory were long delayed. We watch the dying struggles of the House of Lancaster; the King presides over rather than shares the labours of his soldier-councillors.

[1] Addit. MSS., Brit. Mus., 4613.

Then we see the beginnings of independence of thought and will—the reckless marriage that was to lose his posterity the throne, the opposition to the overgrown power of the great subjects of the Crown personified in the mighty Earl of Warwick. In the course of the struggle we trace through alternating success and self-confidence, failure and disgrace, a mind which has not yet found itself. Then, after the great campaign of restoration, the years of quietness seem to have arrived. There is a theatrical flash of arms and a brief dream of foreign glory, soon fading to the light of common day and waking to the practical necessities of policy. But by now the King has reached the measure of his limitations. Nothing new is to come, mistakes are still to be made: but there is, until he dies, a steady growth of strength, self-knowledge and purpose.

Edward's personal character.

Behind it all lies the discreditable life—the vice and self-indulgence, the gradually fading glow of youthful frankness and affection, the ever-growing suspiciousness: apart from the continued sins of private immorality, the life is stained by great and open crimes of treachery, perjury and cruelty. How far Edward deliberately led the Earl of Warwick to his rebellion and death we have found it hard to say: but at best he only met and defeated deceit by deceit. Then there are the perjuries at York and Tewkesbury in 1471, the treatment of Sir Thomas Cooke and Chief Justice Markham in 1468, the execution of Lord Welles in 1470, and the cold-blooded slaying of many a defeated enemy. If we acquit him of the murder of Prince Edward of Lancaster, we cannot do so of that of Henry VI; while his execution of Clarence, provoked to it as he may have been, is remembered

when all else is forgotten. It may be he repented, and, indeed, we may feel pity for one whom political necessities seemed sometimes to drive to slay those whom he loved. These crimes have been described by one writer as " short tempests in a glorious calm."[1] For such a phrase there is some justification. Edward was not proud or disdainful: success brought self-indulgence, but it did not bring arrogance—he was pleasantest when at his highest. Decently educated, with a taste for the refinements of life as well as its grosser pleasures, he introduced into the English Court an order combined with splendour which made it an asset of real value in the intellectual and social life of the nation, reflecting onto it the rays of the sunrise of the Renaissance. There is a largeness and open-handedness about him that it is surprising to find in combination with financial strictness and methods of extortion generally associated with miserliness.

Edward and foreign affairs.

He worked hard—his system required it. His abilities were undoubtedly great, his understanding clear and direct in matters within his immediate supervision. But in foreign policy we have seen that his ideas were not so well defined. Louis XI could outwit him, Charles the Rash could ruin his plans; with James III of Scotland he could arrive at such a pitch of misunderstanding as to induce him to throw away the fruits of an earlier and sounder policy. He clung obstinately to present advantage, and would even try to keep it by propping it on a new and unstable foundation, as his behaviour in the matter of the Duke of Albany and his suggested marriage with Cecily shows. Nevertheless, England's position

[1] Habington, p. 226.

abroad was vastly improved by his reign. At first considered by the monarchs of Europe as something of a *parvenu*, we see as time goes on, his alliance courted on all sides, his daughters the promised brides of European kings. For a time he holds the balance of power in the West. His intervention is dreaded or entreated. With the minor powers of Europe he cultivated the friendliest relations. King Ferdinand of Naples; Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan; Frederick, Duke of Urbino; Hercules d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, were admitted to the Order of the Garter during the reign, as were the more powerful rulers, Charles of Burgundy, Ferdinand of Castile and John II, King of Portugal.[1]

Edward as a soldier.

Edward had a European reputation as a soldier. In this field of affairs his talent was conspicuous. It has been pointed out that he, above all military commanders of his day, and, indeed, for many years before it, recognised the value of time.[2] A consideration of his march to London in 1461, his suppression of the Lincolnshire rebellion in 1470, above all, the astonishing marches in the glorious campaign of 1471 will afford ample evidence of his genius in this respect. His rapidity and decision before a battle counted for more than his tactics and valour on the field, though there his courage led him to fight always on foot, disdaining the custom of the Earl of Warwick, who "when he had once led his men to the charge, mounted on horseback himself," to provide for a chance of escape if matters should go against him. He understood the value

[1] See Anstis, "Order of the Garter," Vol. II, p. 171 *seq.*

[2] See Article by C. W. Oman in "Social England" (1903), Vol. II, pp. 448-460.

of artillery: we find him casting great guns for the sieges in the North in 1463—at Losecoat Field they won him the easiest of victories. He brought with him from Holland, in 1471, 200 hand-gun men, whom he employed with effect at Barnet and Tewkesbury. But he does not appear to have made any striking tactical innovations. His rapidity, his use of the natural features of the country, his decision and courage won him his fields. He handled his troops in a masterly manner, and that he knew the value of discipline is evidenced by his refusal to allow his men to sleep in towns, where they might become disorderly and out of hand, when he was expecting a battle. One innovation, not of a strictly military nature, was the outcome of the Scottish campaign. The King appointed "a single horseman for every twenty miles, by means of whom, travelling with the utmost speed, and not passing their restrictive limits, news was always able to be carried by letter from hand to hand two hundred miles within two days,"[1] a practice which led to the establishment of "posts" for other than warlike purposes.

Edward's domestic policy.

But for the permanent results of Edward's life we must turn to his home policy. Material prosperity grew during the reign—the woollen industry had advanced beyond all. Commerce was growing, too. "Slowly but surely the foreign commerce of the country, hitherto conducted by the Italian, the Hanse merchant, or the trader of Catalonia or Southern Gaul, was passing into English hands."[2] The commercial classes were beginning to gain the

[1] Cont. Croyland, p. 497.
[2] See Green, "Short History of the English People," Vol. II, p. 561.

importance that the territorial aristocracy was losing. Edward, by his trading policy and his personal friendliness with the merchants of London, carried forward the policy of Edward III, and laid the foundations, not only of the future strength and influence of the great middle class which most truly represents England, but also gave to it that instinct of personal loyalty to the Crown, which without undervaluing liberty, it has brought again and again to its support. It is true that tillage was still decaying, and rural unemployment was one of the problems of the time. But even of the rural population many were beginning to be set to work in their own homes by capitalists of the staple industry.[1] The amount of building which was done in the reign is evidence of considerable prosperity, as are the Sumptuary Laws which show among its meagre Parliamentary enactments. Wages were rising, and there was a growing desire for foreign commodities.[2] These indications of advance are the more remarkable when we consider the history of the fifty years from 1421-1471, the French war and all it implied, the domestic confusion and civil war which paralysed the Government.

Constitutional abuses.

But this material advance was purchased at a heavy price. The policy of King Edward had implied a widening of the powers of the Crown and a degradation of justice. "The prodigal use of Bills of Attainder, the wide extension of the judicial power of the Royal Council,"[3] evidenced by the summary jurisdiction of the Constable, of which

[1] See Cunningham, "Growth of English Industry and Commerce in the Early and Middle Ages," Vol. I, pp. 437-441.

[2] "Social England" (1894), Vol. II, p. 315.

[3] Green, p. 563.

examples may be found in the frequent trials and condemnation of political offenders down to the executions after the battle of Tewkesbury; "the servility of judges," such as Sir Thomas Billing, who presided at the trial of Burdett and Stacey in 1477; "the coercion of juries"; these were the logical outcome of the retrograde theory of government on which he built his power. It is true that these abuses touched in the main only the limited and powerful class which had oppressed the liberties of the people. But the use of espionage, of torture to extort confession, the doctrine of "constructive treason" and the unconstitutional methods of taxation threatened individual liberty throughout all grades of society. Nor were these abuses balanced by any enactments which might in the future be used to redress the injustice of the present. "For the first time since the reign of John not a single law which promoted freedom or remedied the abuses of power was even proposed."[1] By the confiscation of the estates of his enemies, by a strict and retrospective use of the law to impose fines and penalties for financial rather than judicial reasons, by benevolences, by trade, by the money King Louis was induced to give him, by its own grant of the Customs for life, Edward became practically independent of Parliament. When he summons it after 1467 it is for extraordinary purposes and for extraordinary expenditure. He uses it and dismisses it as he pleases. Complaisant Chancellors and Speakers manage it in his interest and are rewarded with money and honours. The powers of Parliament which had secured a premature extension and definition owing to the Revolution of 1399, under

[1] Green, ii, p. 520.

Edward IV are not only not extended but are ignored and seem to disappear. And yet none of the sanctions on which the liberties of the people rested were destroyed: no constitutional innovation received ratification by Act of Parliament; no theory of absolutism was formulated, no statute which guaranteed the representation of the popular will was repealed. Edward did not aim at registering his power—he merely ignored the custom which would limit it. "The constitution had in its growth outrun the capacity of the nation; the nation needed rest and renewal, discipline and reformation before it could enter into the enjoyment of its birthright."[1] For that rest and renewal, for that discipline and reformation Edward prepared the way. They could not come until England had a Government strong in itself, strong and feared. The hopeless breakdown of the Lancastrian system showed clearly enough that Society must undergo a course of correction and development before it could be safely entrusted with the immediate control of its Government. Knowledge must be more widely diffused, classes must be less rigidly defined, Parliament must be more representative and less under the control of the great nobles. Two of these conditions showed promise of future realisation when Edward died. The power of the territorial aristocracy against the kingship was weakened for ever: it was not dead, but its vigour and enterprise were gone. This was the great political feat of Edward. The accumulated evils of lack of governance broke on him and could not break him. With little imagination or foresight, not reflective or fond of theory, but supremely practical, a

Outlook for the future.

[1] Stubbs, iii, p. 297.

good soldier and administrator, he pushed his way almost blindly through his difficulties. One after another they disappeared until he stood alone, powerful and feared. If we look at the future we see the work he began carried to greater purposes than he was capable even of conceiving. It cannot be held that he consciously prepared the way for a future of which far wiser men than he could have had no inkling. Nor can it be denied that personal motives, the desire to keep what he had gained, the love of freedom for his self-will, perhaps a mere desire for the continued opportunities of self-indulgence, partly dictated the political measures which gained him his unfettered power and humbled the great ones of England before him. But if we rate his political intelligence, his patriotism, his wisdom, at the lowest, the fact remains that he succeeded in doing what England needed and England wished. And what he did paved the way for others. Henry VII, during the first years of his reign administered Edward's system. The despotic and autocratic method was carried on into the Tudor system. On it was built the remarkable work of the sixteenth century. Turning to the needs of the nation the Tudors carried through the religious, political and social reforms which brought the nation up to the level of its constitutional heritage. Though the strength of the Executive was maintained and increased, yet Parliament was used as the means of the Tudor reforms, and Parliament had lost neither the forms nor altogether the spirit of its liberties and powers. Through it the national will, at first feebly, made itself heard, but came to know and listen for its own expression. Local self-government was developed, too, safely and quietly, under

Edward paved the way for the Tudor reforming era.

the strong eye of the central authority. It was on the foundation of the strong and popular monarchy that all this was done—and to that strength and popularity Edward had brought it. "There was never any prince of this land attaining the Crown by battle so heartily beloved with the substance of the people, nor he himself so specially in any part of his life as at the time of his death."[1] His private vices "not greatly grieved his people." "In time of his later days this realm was in quiet and prosperous estate,[2] no fear of outward enemies, . . . the people toward the Prince not in a constrained fear, but in a willing and loving obedience among themselves."[3] "He joined to him so surely the hearts of his people that after his death his life again was daily wished."[4] His personal appearance counted for something: "He was of visage lovely," "of stature high, of quick sight," "broad-breasted, of bodye myghtie, stronge, and cleane made: howe be it in his latter dayes, with ower libberal dyet, sommewhat corpulente and boorelye, and nathelesse not uncomelye."[5] In keeping with the pleasing exterior was his genial and familiar courtesy. "For the great humanity and lowliness that in hym was by nature most abundantly engendered, he used himself among mean persons more

Edward's personality brought strength to the Monarchy.

[1] Grafton, II, p. 79.

[2] Margaret Lady Hungerford, who died towards the end of the reign, left manors to her grandsons on condition of ten years' faithful service of King Edward IV and his heirs. Their father had been attainted and beheaded, their eldest brother attainted. This is striking evidence of contemporary opinion of the strength of Edward's position. —"Testamensta Vetusta," pp. 316-7.

[3] Grafton, *ut supra*

[4] Hall, p. 341.

[5] More, "Richard III," p. 2.

familiar than his degree, dignity or majesty required."[1] At the same time "favourites" he never had in the sense in which that word was used in the times of Edward II and Henry VI. "The common people oftentymes more esteme and take for greater kindenesse a lyttle courtesye, than a great benefyte."[2] It may be an extreme thing to say that the greatest gift this strong, bad, pleasure-loving man gave to his country was his own personality. But certain it is that the new blood and the new life he brought to the monarchy have been of lasting benefit to England. Contrast Edward with the cold, austere, money-loving man, who two years later succeeded his brother; then look at King Edward's grandson, Henry VIII, and his great grand-daughter, Elizabeth. There is the Tudor caution, subtlety and cleverness: but there, too, are the Plantagenet will and courage, above all the geniality, easiness of demeanour, the love of pleasure and sport, the joy of life, all the qualities which had distinguished King Edward IV. He brought a new element into the loyalty of the subjects of the Crown. Other kings had been popular, great warriors such as Richard I, Edward III and Henry V. His immediate predecessor's piety and helplessness had won him a pitying love. Edward IV came out from the barriers which kept the Kingship to the council chamber and the field of battle and established it firmly in the everyday affections of the people.

[1] Hall, p. 341.
[2] More, p. 20.

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